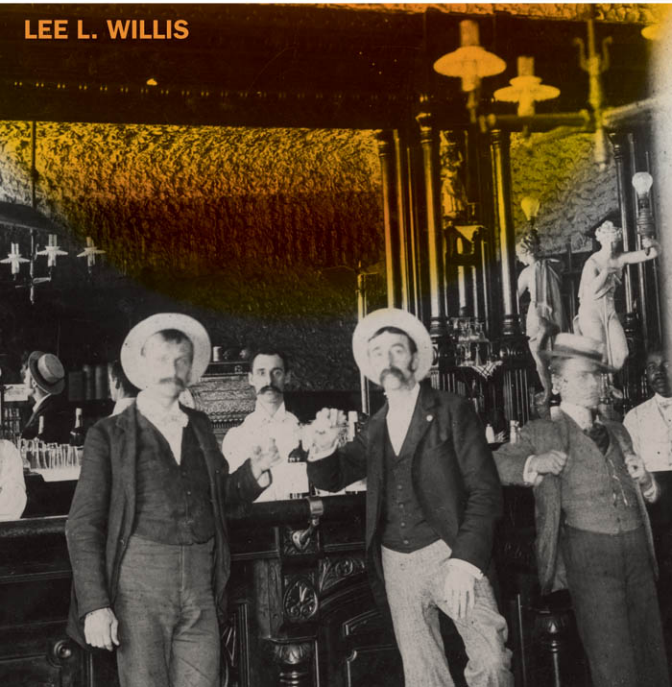
SOUTHERN PROHIBITION

RACE, REFORM, AND PUBLIC LIFE IN MIDDLE FLORIDA, 1821–1920

LEE L. WILLIS



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LEE L. WILLIS

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To the memory of my father

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Introduction

Evaluating his ministry in the late 1830s, Methodist itinerant Peter Haskew feared that his labors in territorial Florida were futile. Few souls attended his services, and some people verbally accosted him in the streets. He felt besieged by sodden tipplers when he boarded at taverns. Other itinerants had similar experiences. In 1833, efforts to establish a Tallahassee temperance society were met with mockery when tavern-goers created a rival, anti-temperance organization. The Key West tavern crowd subjected Alexander Graham, an unfortunate Methodist minister, to a terrifying charivari simply because of his lecturing on the dry cause. In the early 1840s, John Tappan, a temperance man en route to Mobile, found himself in a precarious toe-to-toe confrontation with an inebriate in Port Leon when he refused the man's offer to buy him a drink.

The experiences of Florida's first temperance reformers revealed the movement's radical, marginal, and gendered beginnings. Criticizing public consumption of alcohol represented a condemnation of early American political culture. Elections and national holidays in the early republic were occasions for revelry that frequently revolved around the public house. Taverns served as forums for a variety of public gatherings,

from entertainment to political meetings. On the southern frontier, taverns also functioned as spaces where locals proved masculinity and negotiated community influence. By rejecting this tradition, Haskew and his fellow temperance advocates proposed radical change. Judging by the initial response to their calls for reform, few people in territorial Florida agreed that the system needed such a fundamental overhaul. Yet over the next several decades, Floridians – like Americans generally – grew increasingly receptive to ideas of curbing intemperance and controlling tavern life. Beginning in the 1880s, Florida counties passed local-option prohibition laws and soon went dry, county by county. In 1916, Florida became the only state to elect a Prohibition Party candidate for governor, Sidney J. Catts. One year later, voters mandated statewide prohibition in advance of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Yet this chronology can be misleading. Tracing Florida's temperance reform in an arc from Haskew to Catts perpetuates a flaw that has too long plagued our understanding of reform in the American South. Many historians have argued that southerners were reluctant to embrace temperance before the Civil War.[1] Statewide prohibition laws, sometimes called Maine Laws after the first state to go dry, swept the Northeast and Midwest in the 1850s. The slave states, however, balked at such extreme legislation. Not until after the Civil War, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s, did the dry movement take root in the South. Juxtaposing the embattled antebellum reformer Peter Haskew with the triumphant twentieth-century prohibitionist Sidney Catts seems to affirm this perspective. But such a comparison neglects to take into account the vastly different worlds in which these men lived, as well as what exactly it was they were proposing to change in their respective societies. In Haskew's Florida, aggressive prohibition legislation was already on the books. Territorial laws passed in 1832 and 1834 forbade the sale of alcohol to Indians and enslaved people, respectively. What made ministers like Haskew such radical figures is that they proposed that *white men* were also incapable of handling intoxicating substances.

There were, of course, other factors besides race; to argue that prohibition boiled down to social control is overly simplistic. Reformers pointed to myriad problems that alcohol and saloon life either created or made worse. In the twentieth century, white prohibitionists found allies among black ministers and the emerging African American middle class who, like white reformers, argued that alcohol destroyed fami-

lies, bred poverty, and weakened communities. Many reformers genuinely believed that prohibition would be the solution to the complex and frightening problems of industrial America. Yet antebellum reformers had made a similar case. The perils of frontier life, including yellow fever epidemics, deadly fires, and high infant mortality rates, inspired desires for reform. A sinful society emboldened by the Demon Rum, argued temperance leaders, invoked the wrath of God. The disadvantage facing reformers in the antebellum South was that a significant portion of the population – the enslaved population – already lived under prohibition. The underclass of the Northeast, where statewide bans went into effect in the 1850s, could not be so easily proscribed.

This book explores how temperance evolved into a movement for prohibition and helped shape public life in Middle Florida, the state's plantation belt and political epicenter. In the process, the campaign against alcohol had intended and unintended consequences. Incidents of drunken violence decreased over time, but so did democratic access to political discourse that had characterized territorial public drinking. More stringent licensing – inspired by calls for reform – accelerated gentrification and stratified public drinking along class lines. Gender mores also shaped and were shaped by the temperance movement.[2] Women in the plantation belt played a more marginal role in comparison to those in other locales, which influenced their political clout. Restricting blacks' access to alcohol was also a theme that ran through the temperance and prohibition campaigns in Florida. Further, the evolution of alcohol reform, which spanned the lives of Peter Haskew and Sidney Catts, demonstrates the persuasive power of evangelical religion in shaping political culture.

As the focus of a case study, Middle Florida offers a fresh perspective on reform and drinking culture in the American South. Furthermore, a long historical sweep over a relatively small geographic region reveals important details and patterns sometimes lost in broader studies. Temperance and prohibition campaigns had become national and international movements by the late nineteenth century, but reformers' anxieties reflected changes in their own communities. The war on alcohol began with local revivals led by ministers bent on persuading individuals to curb intemperance. Even in the two decades prior to federal prohibition, local-option campaigns remained the battleground in many parts of the nation. Although these county-level battles reflected national and

international trends, their outcome hinged on local perception to change. In what ways were community drinking spaces changing? Did these changes allay or inspire calls for reform? Only by examining smaller places over a long duration can one begin to answer these important questions.

Reevaluating the long temperance movement in Middle Florida demonstrates that the American South and the region's evangelical reformers were at the forefront of this reform movement from the beginning rather than latecomers as has previously been argued. Evangelical religion has long been recognized as an important theme in southern history; the intense religiosity of the South distinguishes the region, and historians of southern religion have tried to understand the factors that created such a milieu. Despite the intensity of worship and popularity of churchgoing, however, religiosity did not transform the region into a hothouse for social reform. Historians of southern religion have sought to understand why a people so concerned with salvation would not embrace calls for social justice that swept other parts of the nation. One interpretation is that southern evangelicals were held captive to the region's fierce individualism.[3] Rather than tackle large social problems, the churches remained insular and strove to convert one sinner at a time. Southern evangelicals did not embrace antebellum reform, others have argued, because of the associations with abolitionism. Temperance was loathed because some prominent national reformers were both abolitionists and temperance advocates.

More recent studies have presented a much more complicated picture of southern religion to demonstrate the diversity of belief in the region.[4] The white churches' reluctance to support social reform, because of theological individualism or a desire to uphold white supremacy, is only part of the history. The religion of enslaved people, which rejected the theology of white evangelicals, is an important part of the southern story. The experience of southern Catholics and Jews does not fit within the old captivity thesis explanation of the region's religious culture. While we now acknowledge that southern religion was too complex to lump it into a single theme or experience, our understanding of reform still needs clarification.[5]

Peter Haskew and Alexander Graham met resistance in Florida, but in time they and fellow reformers convinced white Floridians that taverns and dram shops, particularly those that sold potent and inexpensive distilled liquors, contributed to a debauched society. Whereas slave

codes that prohibited the sale of alcohol to blacks suggested that alcohol in the wrong hands could lead to problems, temperance revivalists argued that the liquor traffic created problems for all. The psychoactive substance and the environment in which it was consumed was the problem, ministers argued, not the allegedly inferior people (Indians and blacks) who should not have access to it. Since prohibition along racial lines was in place, southern reformers had to argue the evils of the alcohol trade all the more forcefully. Southern evangelicals helped create the idea that alcohol and the liquor traffic were inherently evil and turned good lives into ones of depravity. They inspired tangible results in the form of licensing restrictions as early as the 1840s. Moreover, the morality tales that evangelicals wove about alcohol abuse shaped social attitudes about drinking and drinking spaces.

Alcohol was only one of many psychoactive substances available in Florida's plantation belt. Beginning in the 1830s, merchants offered a surprising pharmacopeia, including narcotics and stimulants. Though sparsely settled and still a frontier before the Civil War, Middle Florida was well supplied with opiates, tobacco products, and caffeinated beverages. Any discussion of temperance and prohibition must acknowledge that alcohol inebriation was not the only form of altered consciousness that came under social scrutiny in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Alcohol was undoubtedly the most popular psychoactive substance, and therefore the campaign against it faced the most resistance. Prohibition movements against opiates and cocaine emerged comparatively late, but received almost immediate legislative results. Less than a decade before Florida passed statewide prohibition against the sale of alcohol, the legislature criminalized recreational use of narcotics and cocaine. Highlighting both of these movements reveals how reformers crafted different campaigns for different substances and helps explain how alcohol prohibition ultimately collapsed, while the prohibitions against narcotics and cocaine – the "War on Drugs" – soldiers on in the twenty-first century.[6]

Geographically defined by the Georgia border to the north, the Gulf of Mexico to the south, the Apalachicola River to the west, and the Suwannee River to the east, the Middle Florida plantation belt had experienced little European settlement compared to colonial St. Augustine and Pensacola in East and West Florida, respectively.[7] Despite the faint imperial presence, Native Americans in the region remained

impoverished. Suffering centuries of exposure to European diseases and having traded away large tracts of land to reduce debts to private trading firms, the Muskogean-speaking peoples that inhabited Middle Florida initially offered no direct opposition to U.S. settlement, though one group, the Seminoles, would unsuccessfully wage war on the United States and its settlers from 1835 to 1842. The region became U.S. territory following the 1819 Adams-Onis treaty with Spain. After ratification of the treaty in 1821, Middle Florida became an extension of the expanding cotton belt. Aspiring planters from established slave states migrated to the fertile red hills with their families and enslaved people, believing that territorial Florida offered wealth and thereby power and respect. Less affluent yeomen – sometimes called countrymen by their contemporaries – removed there as well. The wealth produced by the cotton plantations and the choice of Tallahassee as the territorial capital made Middle Florida the most politically influential region of the territory and, by 1845, the young state.[8]

The drinking culture that took root in territorial Florida had vernacular traits, but was also representative of global commerce that had undergone drastic changes since the seventeenth century. The world witnessed a remarkable change in the commerce of mind-altering substances, sometimes called "the psychoactive revolution," as a consequence of imperialism. Substances that had been limited to single continents became global commodities. In the subsequent centuries, the innate human desire to alter one's consciousness encountered an expanding menu of psychoactive substances, including tobacco, caffeinated drinks, opium, and cannabis.[9] Alcoholic beverages also underwent significant change between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The catalyst for this change was not only imperialism, but also technology. Whereas the favored alcoholic beverages in early modern Europe had been fermented, particularly wines and ales, distilled liquors became an increasingly favored intoxicant by the late eighteenth century.[10]

Apalachee Indians, Muskogean-speaking peoples who inhabited Middle Florida at the time of Spanish contact, suffered terribly as a consequence of the psychoactive revolution. Spanish missions, most notably San Luis de Talimali near present-day Tallahassee, introduced potent substances to the indigenous society. Franciscan friars tried to limit the excesses of consumption, but traders kept the local population supplied with fermented and distilled spirits. Unlike other parts of New Spain,

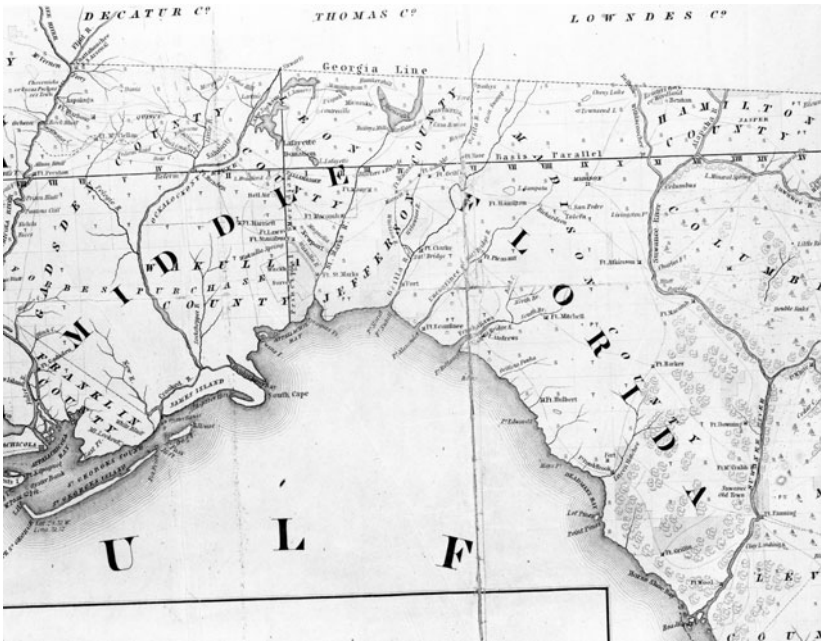

Figure 1. Map of Middle Florida, 1846. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

where Indians had made intoxicating beverages before European contact and had developed social controls against overconsumption, Florida Indians had no prior exposure to intoxicants.[11] By the eighteenth century, West Indian rum had become a popular commodity. Spanish and, later, British merchants established trading posts in Middle Florida. The Scottish firm of Panton, Leslie and Company (later reorganized as John Forbes and Company), based in Pensacola, also had stores located on the Apalachicola and Wakulla rivers. The company extended credit, and eventually Indians in the panhandle of Florida accrued so much debt that they had to cede thousands of acres to make good on their payment. The U.S. settlers who then migrated into Middle Florida encountered not an uninhabited land, but a region that had recently experienced rapid population decline not unrelated to the psychoactive revolution.[12]

These American settlers also brought new traditions of drinking and drinking culture with them. Drinking in early America was not only a social lubricant and source of altered consciousness; Americans

regarded alcohol as an important dietary staple. Weak ales, sometimes called "small beer," were consumed throughout the day and were also regarded as a healthier option than water. Hippocratic medicine dictated that water alone weakened the body and produced an imbalance in the body's humors. Common sense also deterred Americans from drinking straight water: it was frequently polluted and thereby caused deadly illnesses. By the late eighteenth century, however, fermented ales were increasingly replaced by distilled liquors. Distillation technology, for centuries too expensive for all but the wealthiest entrepreneurs, became inexpensive enough by the late colonial period for modest grain farmers to purchase. American farmers, whose produce spoiled quickly, embraced distillation as a way to extend the shelf life of their harvest indefinitely. Besides the benefits of imperishability, liquors were comparatively lighter than whole grains and cut down on transportation costs. So many farmers seized on this idea that American whiskeys were abundant and inexpensive by the early 1800s. Distillation technology produced rum made from West Indian molasses (a byproduct of sugar cane refinement) and whiskey distilled from fermented Virginia rye and Kentucky corn. Middle Florida would become known as part of the cotton belt, but even at the height of King Cotton's reign in the 1850s, plantations devoted more acreage to corn than cotton. Corn was not only a dietary staple for Middle Floridians and their livestock, it could also be fermented, distilled, and preserved for supplemental income.[13]

As the potency of alcohol increased, the nature and function of alcohol consumption also changed. Prior to the seventeenth century, taverns were located in homes and served as a secondary means of income for families. They typically offered overnight accommodations. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, taverns became more specialized in the alcohol trade and sold increasingly potent beverages. Furthermore, public drinking spaces reflected race, class, and gender mores. In Middle Florida, such distinctions emerged quickly. The region has often been characterized as a wild and wooly antebellum frontier, but by the 1840s gentrified hotel barrooms provided travelers and local elites with an alternative to the lowbrow tavern. These changes were not just the product of settlement; they were in part a product of increasingly stringent licensing that temperance reformers had demanded.

Examining in microcosm an evolving drinking culture and the long temperance movement that helped shape it also provides an assessment

of women's role in public life. Scholars who have focused on other southern states have debated whether or not southern women gained or lost social status in the decades before the Civil War. The role of religion is intertwined in this discussion. In the older slave states, particularly Virginia, historians have found examples of female advancement despite the lack of an organized feminist movement. Evangelical-inspired reform campaigns offered women public leadership roles and the opportunity to deny the fiction of separate spheres or that a woman's influence was limited to the home. Women formed supportive networks and, as a result, female influence on political rallies and parades (and even political thought) grew in the 1840s and 1850s. During the secession crisis of 1860–1861, therefore, female support factored decidedly in the cause.[14]

In contrast, studies that focus on the rural or frontier South, where women remained isolated from one another, have demonstrated that the status of southern women declined throughout the nineteenth century. Women who moved with their families to the frontier found that their influence diminished on the marchlands. The social networks that they had formed in more densely populated regions were lost, while primitive and often dangerous conditions made women more dependent on men. Furthermore, rural evangelicalism often upheld patriarchy more than it offered women the opportunity for public influence.[15]

In the early 1800s, southern evangelical churches relied more heavily on female support and leadership than they did by mid-century. As the churches grew from marginalized sects into mainline denominations, women became increasingly sidelined. Theologically, southern evangelical churches increasingly embraced gendered readings of scripture in the first half of the nineteenth century to eliminate women from leadership positions. Membership in the evangelical churches remained low until this gendered theological shift had taken place. Since Florida did not become a U.S. territory until 1821, the window for women to assume substantial responsibilities in the churches closed quickly. In demographic, economic, and social terms, Florida in the 1840s resembled the southwestern frontier more than the established eastern seaboard states. Because Florida was not acquired by the United States until 1819, its plantation belt society lacked the colonial and early republican continuity of the older slave states. Evangelical institutions and customs that had matured in Virginia and the Carolinas, for example, remained in flux

on the Florida frontier until much later. Female voices in Florida were muted before the Civil War – mostly because reform movements never offered substantial roles to women.[16]

Middle Florida as the focus of a case study offers new perspectives to our understanding of the complex and contentious background to prohibition. Rather than a steady march to the Eighteenth Amendment, the evolution of reform was tentative and fraught with contingencies. Since the 1920s, myriad scholars have evaluated the evolution of temperance reform. Early works began the daunting task of organizing and narrating the complex movement, and focused mostly on political action.[17] By the 1960s, however, historians began to debate reformers' motives and whether or not their intentions were truly progressive and well meaning. Influenced by the work of Richard Hofstadter, Andrew Sinclair took a negative view of prohibitionists, whom he argued were parochial and irrational fanatics. Likewise, Joseph Gusfield, a sociologist, believed that nativism and a striving for greater social status inspired reformers, who used temperance as a demonstration of their respectability. More sympathetic, James Timberlake contended that the Eighteenth Amendment went too far, but that reformers genuinely wanted to rectify social ills – a solidly progressive agenda.[18]

Marxist thought that influenced the historical profession generally prolonged the progressive or conservative debate in the 1970s. Jack Blocker Jr., for example, argued in *Retreat from Reform* (1976) that until the 1890s, prohibitionists had genuine concern for the welfare of the urban masses. The Anti-Saloon League (ASL), which effectively usurped the movement and pushed for unnecessary coercive laws, had close ties to the capitalist power structure. Breaking up saloons created a more dependable and orderly working class to fuel U.S. industry. Countering the Marxist argument, Norman H. Clark claimed that the movement had always been conservative and thereby not necessarily driven by capitalist forces. Paying closer attention to the real problems that excessive drinking created, he held that the movement was always an attempt to protect the nuclear family. Ian Tyrrell's study of the antebellum crusade, *Sobering Up* (1979), which mostly focused on New England and the mid-Atlantic states, also agreed that reformers had genuine concerns about the negative effect that drinking had on economic and spiritual progress. Reformers came from all classes and responded to real social problems.[19]

Women's historians of the 1970s and 1980s mined the temperance movement for evidence of female social and political activism, thereby strengthening the progressivism side of the debate. Ross Evans Paulson's comparative international approach connected temperance activism with the success of woman suffrage in Europe, Australia, and the United States. *Woman and Temperance* (1981), Ruth Bordin's study of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), came to similar conclusions and viewed the group as proto-feminist. Tyrrell's *Women's World, Women's Empire* (1991), the most comprehensive study of the WCTU to date, further buttresses the thesis that temperance served as a vehicle for female social and political advancement.[20]

Interest in alcohol reform as a political tool for women coincided with studies that began to look seriously at taverns and saloons. Nineteenth-century historians such as Daniel Dorchester and Henry A. Scomp emphasized the harmful effects of alcohol in their works that celebrated the spread of temperance, but not until W. J. Rorabaugh's *The Alcoholic Republic* (1979) did historians acknowledge that public houses yield significant insight into American social and political life.[21] According to Rorabaugh, alcohol consumption increased to staggering levels between 1780 and 1830, as a new working class turned to abundant and cheap whiskey as a salve for anxious and unsettling times. Morbid excess prompted reform, but Rorabaugh displayed a compassion for the displaced drunk. The temperance crusade dramatically reduced drinking habits and fundamentally altered public life, which had been centered around taverns and general stores. Following Rorabaugh's lead, scholars continue to debate the meaning of tavern life in early American political culture and what it can tell us about power relationships in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[22]

Though scholarship on drinking and temperance remains vibrant, one gap in the literature that has only recently received attention is adequate treatment of antebellum southern reform.[23] Scholars tracing the long development of temperance have focused almost exclusively on the Northeast and Midwest. Beginning with John Allen Kraut, historians continually argued that temperance was slow to take root in the Old South because of its association with abolitionism.[24] Tyrrell and Rorabaugh came to the same conclusion, but claimed that southerners turned to reform much later because they did not encounter the ill effects of the market revolution as early as northerners did.[25] Recently, however,

historians have begun to look closely at the Old South and found that these old assumptions are not true; temperance reform had a receptive audience in the decades before the Civil War. Much work remains to be done on the evolution of temperance in the South.[26]

Prohibition in the New South has received much greater attention. Following some of the same debates as the broader literature, namely, the progressive or conservative question, southern historians have also placed more emphasis on the relationship between reform and issues of black disfranchisement, populist unrest, and states' rights.[27] More recently, fruitful work by new social historians has revealed greater heterogeneity among southern prohibitionists. Janette Greenwood, for example, found a significant group of black "dries" in her study of Charlotte reformers, *Bittersweet Legacy* (1994).[28] Other scholars have investigated the ASL's influence. Work by William Link, Thomas Pegram, and Richard Hamm has demonstrated that the organization, which was based in Ohio, was critical to the success of local option, state prohibition campaigns, and passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.[29] While interest in New South reform has not suffered the same amount of neglect as the antebellum period, more work needs to be done in order to understand the movement's long scope.

Most recently, historians have begun to analyze drinking culture in context with other psychoactive substances. All too often alcohol is viewed in isolation from other substances – hence expressions like "alcohol and drugs" – and this categorization obfuscates historical patterns. To understand how alcohol became demonized and criminalized, scholars have broadened their perspective geographically and pharmacologically. Besides changes in drinking culture, Floridians were exposed to a changing menu of other mind-altering substances.

Compared to that of neighboring states, Florida's documentary record is certainly less rich and the sources more scattered. Trying to document a specific aspect of life such as past psychoactive substance users and the reform movements that responded to them can be difficult. Some of the most detailed surviving accounts are from ministers' diaries and memoirs. Other valuable sources are published travelers' accounts. The writers of these accounts and memoirs most likely succumbed to hyperbole, and I have tried to balance their observations with territorial and state licensing records, city and county commission minutes and ordinances, state legislative records, and newspaper accounts.

The archaeological record also provides documentary evidence of Florida's psychoactive history. I have availed myself of recently excavated sites within the riverfront business district of Apalachicola to augment the paper trail. These archaeological sites were located on the same city lots as prominent commission merchant warehouses that periodically burned in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though much of these stores' contents incinerated in these fires, glass containers such as liquor bottles and apothecary jars survived. These vessels provide another clue to understanding Middle Florida's culture.

The first two chapters of the book examine the origins and consequences of the temperance movement in territorial and early statehood Florida. Chapter 1 explores alcohol reform and drinking culture in the territorial period, 1821–1845, and chapter 2 follows the temperance movement to 1860. I argue that alcohol reform proved influential in the development of partisan politics between Whigs and Democrats, the configuration of gender and class relations, and the shoring up of white supremacy. The first two chapters also investigate tavern life in the territory. As many scholars have shown, early American taverns functioned as contested public spaces where democracy and deference clashed. Florida's earliest taverns offered few amenities to elite travelers, who often complained of the treatment that they received at the hands of common whites during their visits. Yet local elites also behaved badly in public and frequently drew the ire of county grand juries. The temperance movement represented a reaction to these establishments and practices and therefore had complex ramifications for class relations. Furthermore, reform also acted as a salve for anxious settlers unnerved by a series of financial and natural disasters that befell the territory in the late 1830s. These chapters place tavern life and temperance reform at the center of antebellum Florida's political culture.

The Civil War and Reconstruction disrupted Florida's political culture dramatically. Chapter 3 examines the war's impact on the home front and also how Florida's soldiers responded to their chaplains and officers, who encouraged piety and temperate behavior. Many residents abandoned the state, choosing to seek refuge farther inland and away from blockading Union vessels. Sporadic federal raids destroyed church property. Perhaps most damaging to the worldview of white Floridians, however, was that the war's outcome proved the clergymen of 1861 wrong. Soldiers' reactions were complex, as some resented the prodding from

the leaders while others appreciated the solace that religion provided in the face of combat stress. The war also ended prohibition along racial lines. Florida's former slaves, prohibited from purchasing alcohol prior to the war, could now acquire and consume alcohol legally. Chapter 4 explores the racial discord that marred Congressional Reconstruction and how it rekindled support for reform from both white and newly emerging black churches.[30]

An amendment to Florida's constitution of 1885 legalized local-option elections, which empowered voters to determine by referendum whether or not to ban alcohol sales in their home counties. Chapters 5 and 6 explore the local-option campaigns in Leon and Franklin counties, respectively. Part of the antebellum cotton belt, Leon County voters chose to go dry in 1904. Franklin County's coastal population on the other hand held out until 1915, only two years prior to statewide legislative prohibition. These chapters compare and contrast these county experiences and illuminate how dry campaigns operated on the ground level.

Between the early nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States experienced two distinct eras of sweeping reform. The first movement, often called the Second Great Awakening (ca. 1800–1840), gave birth to radical abolitionism, penal reform, Sabbatarianism, and temperance, among other measures that targeted individual and social improvement. The second wave of reform, often called the Progressive era (ca. 1890–1920), extended many of the same efforts, but placed greater emphasis on political action. Accelerating social change characterized both eras, as reformers responded to an expanding and increasingly industrial economy and life within a nation experiencing rapid urbanization, industrialization, and immigration.

Though the body of historical literature agrees with the above chronological grouping, such categorization obfuscates the patterns that connected most reform movements between these eras. The most obvious example was the evolution of the antebellum temperance movement into the vanguard of progressive reform, prohibition. What follows is an attempt to tie the strands of these eras together and reveal the social factors that inspired prohibition in one corner of the American South.

1 "To remain dram drinkers and tipplers"

Taverns, Temperance, and Political Culture in Territorial Florida

"Of all vices," wrote Francis de la Porte, the Comte de Castelnau, after his visit to Middle Florida in 1837–1838, "intemperance is the most common one, whose effects are the most to be deplored." On an extensive scientific journey throughout North America, Castelnau primarily commented on the flora and fauna of the area, but also discussed southern frontier culture. "It often happens," he continued, "that men of responsible position are found rolling drunk in the streets until their slaves come to look for them and carry them home in their arms."[1] Besides public inebriation among even the "responsible" class, the Frenchman described scenes of vigilante violence and the constant threat of yellow fever. According to Castelnau, life in towns like Tallahassee and Monticello was fraught with uncertainties. In addition to lawlessness, intemperance, and disease, Middle Floridians also coped with an economic depression and the constant threat of Native American raids. Displaced by the inexorable spread of American settlers in the 1820s and 1830s, Florida Indians lashed back in the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842. Though raids in Middle Florida were rare, the fear of such attacks contributed to the foreboding atmosphere concomitant with Castelnau's visit.[2]

Partly in response to the widespread lawlessness and intemperance that racked communities such as Tallahassee, evangelical revivals gripped Middle Florida four years after the French traveler left the area. The surge in religiosity and evangelical reform often called the Second Great Awakening reached the southern territory relatively late compared to the rest of the South and the nation as a whole, and, as a result, had contrasting causes and consequences. Inspired by an enthusiastic temperance organization, the Washingtonians, evangelical ministers reached out to Floridians who were eager for religious conversion, self-improvement, and sociability. The revivals' success, however, did not rely solely on the desire of settlers to pacify the region or to assuage nerves along the perilous frontier. An informal alliance between the budding Whig Party and evangelical reformers was a contributing factor as well. Both groups wanted to bring law and order to Middle Florida and specifically its heart: the unruly county seat and territorial capital, Tallahassee. Whigs also felt the need to sanctify and legitimize their pro-bank policy after the embarrassing collapse of the territorially backed Union Bank. Consequently, Florida Whigs wrapped themselves in the temperance crusade – a movement at the heart of Florida's revivals – and characterized themselves as agents of stability in opposition to what they deemed as the irresponsible, anti-bank Democrats.

Partisan politics certainly influenced Middle Florida's revivals, but from a broader cultural standpoint, class and gender issues also shaped the awakening. Not only did the gatherings give rise to a new party organization, but they also helped negotiate a consensus between previously disparate populations – yeomen and planters – and brought them together on common cultural ground. The public demonstrations of the Washingtonians – which frequently followed a gendered script – also indicate an uneasiness about women's presence in public life that must be explored. Sex ratios began to close between 1825 and 1850 as women started to challenge what had been a decidedly male society.[3] In the 1830s and 1840s, Florida women organized fairs in public spaces to raise money for poor relief in their own communities as well as for unfortunates suffering abroad. These incursions into the public sphere included women meeting in what had been a preeminently male space, the tavern.[4]

As a result of the temperance revivals, women's influence on political culture remained limited in the transition from territory to statehood.

Whereas in other locales women parlayed their evangelical participation into a greater public presence, in Florida the early reform movement remained stridently masculine. The antebellum marginalization in part helps to explain Florida's relatively weak women's movement after the Civil War.[5] Thus the Florida revivals were not impulsive and unstructured, but represented shifting power relationships on the southern frontier.[6]

Though the relationship between religion and political culture became more overt with the ascendancy of the Florida Whigs in the early 1840s, the link between evangelical morality and territorial policy was established soon after Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1819. This association was most expressive during the temperance movement several decades later, but efforts to manage public alcohol consumption began in the 1820s with taxation and tavern regulations. These early policies not only generated revenue, but they also established a precedent for governmental guidelines on morality – albeit public order and not individual morality was what inspired their passage. In 1822, the territorial Legislative Council established the cost of an annual liquor license for taverns and other retailers. Subsequent laws passed over the following twenty years gradually increased governmental regulation of the alcohol trade. In 1829, the territory approved an act that taxed taverns ten dollars when such an establishment sold liquor in quantities of less than one quart.[7] Presumably this law attempted to reduce public intoxication by making public houses less profitable. Merchants selling larger quantities that would not be consumed on the premises remained exempt.

While tavern licensing fees can also be explained as a basic effort to raise revenue and nothing else, two laws passed in the early 1830s clearly represented the desire of the politicians to control two potentially volatile populations through the regulation of the liquor trade. In 1832, the Legislative Council forbade the sale of alcohol to Native Americans; in 1834, liquor retailers were prohibited from trade with slaves.[8] Yet, legislators did not extend the interdiction to the white population. Furthermore, not only did this prohibition not extend to whites, but drinking culture became an integral part of territorial elections.

Undeniably, enthusiasts of conspicuous alcohol consumption enjoyed the drinking that frequently accompanied campaigns and elections in the colonial era and early republic.[9] As was often the case in other American

locales, candidates in territorial Florida carried out a practice known as "treating," attempting to sway voters with free drinks. One observer of the political process in Pensacola noted that in 1825, candidates tried to "buy votes at the rate of half a gallon of rum or apple-jack per dozen, or the privilege, per single one, of getting gloriously *corned* without pay."[10] Achille Murat, a French émigré living in the Tallahassee area, described a similar scene at an 1830 Middle Florida election. After many of the electors arrived at the polling place already under the influence, Murat wrote, the drinking continued into the evening. "The whiskey," he exclaimed, "all this time is going its rounds; toward evening all have, more or less, disposed of their sober qualities, and it is rare that the sovereign people abdicate power."[11] Another Middle Floridian, Ellen Call Long, recalled that on Election Days "candidates or their friends made speeches, and all was good humor and sociability, but these culminated with the barbecue, and as whiskey circulated, many a proud stepping sovereign of the morning, yielded his scepter to King Barleycorn."[12]

Murat and Long found treating unseemly democratizing, if amusing in hindsight. An American political tradition that could be decidedly egalitarian, treating was commonplace throughout the early republic in the 1820s and 1830s. Yet the intentions of treating were not always motivated by democracy. When George Washington ran for the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1758, for example, he provided voters with 144 gallons of rum, cider, punch, wine, and beer. Washington desired to be viewed as a benevolent and generous patriarch rather than as a man of the people. Providing drink in this case was an act of condescension to shore up the social hierarchy. In territorial Florida and in many other Jacksonian-era locales, however, treating was a decidedly democratic practice. Unlike Washington, candidates in Jacksonian-era elections drank and became inebriated with voters.[13]

Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, however, evangelicalism struggled to take root in Middle Florida. Due to the small number of clergy, services at local churches were irregular in the territory and congregations could not expect ministers to remain in residence. Poor transportation slowed the itinerants and circuit riders who traversed the wider region. As a result, a spirit of ecumenism existed among Leon County evangelicals. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Tallahassee, founded in 1824, assisted Presbyterian ministers in a protracted meeting in 1832 that resulted in the formation of Tallahassee's First Presbyterian Church.[14]

Not only did their limited numbers require evangelical divines to band together, but also the formidable vices of violence and intemperance encouraged evangelicals to join forces in order to save souls.

Such an atmosphere, complained itinerants, made the practice of spiritual conversion difficult. Methodist circuit rider Peter Haskew lamented that lassitude epitomized Middle Florida religious culture in the 1830s. He bemoaned to his diary in May 1839 that he witnessed "no visible marks of religion" and that "all was cold and dull" in his attempt to spread the gospel in St. Joseph and Apalachicola.[15] In several instances, Haskew described feeling threatened by the disorder around him. One balmy evening he sat outdoors reading, "when a volley of oaths began pouring forth from some beings on the opposite side of the street. I felt alarmed and thought I would leave which I soon did."[16] Several months later the divine experienced a sleepless night while boarding at an Apalachicola tavern. As other patrons enjoyed the bacchanalian atmosphere, emitting "so much cursing and noise," Haskew contemplated barring his door. "I was a little fearful they would break into my room. Such conduct about a house must have a deleterious effect . . . This is in its present garb, a cruel place, even the hostler was drunk."[17]

As the traveler Castelnau pointed out in his visit to Middle Florida in 1837–1838, intemperance also ran rampant in Tallahassee. The Frenchman expressed shock at the violence he witnessed in the territorial capital. He declared that "the habit of carrying arms is universal. Every man has constantly on him a bowie knife, and when he is on horseback he has a long rifle in his hand."[18] In neighboring Jefferson County, Castelnau found the county seat of Monticello particularly unruly, observing that "the entire village seemed to be fighting; here two drunken men were dragging themselves along to attack each other; there farmers were amusing themselves by lashing unfortunate slaves . . . farther on young men were blaming each other for the murder of a relative, and murderous weapons gleamed immediately in their hands."[19] For example, Leon County's murder rate in the early 1840s equaled or surpassed that of the most violent American urban centers of the late twentieth century.[20] It is not surprising that territorial Florida acquired the pejorative moniker "a rogue's paradise."[21]

European travelers' accounts such as Castelnau's likely exaggerated the social disorder for hyperbolic effect. They wrote for a European audience who were interested in reading about the backwardness of

American society and the shortcomings of democracy. Even so, immigrants to Middle Florida in the territorial period do corroborate some of the Europeans' observations. South Carolinian Robert Raymond Reid, who moved to St. Augustine as a judicial appointee in 1832, described Middle Florida society in his diary. Reid made regular journeys between Tallahassee and St. Augustine and found life in the two towns strikingly different. Though his writings were not as sensational as Castelnau's descriptions, Reid found the lack of an established hierarchy in Middle Florida disturbing. "How preferable is St. Augustine to Tallahassee! The latter place is full of filth – of all genders. I never knew such dirty houses and indifferent people," he wrote in 1835. Reid found it appropriate that the first couple of the territory, Governor John Eaton and his wife Margaret, lacked social distinction.[22] "Gov. E is a rowdy – his wife, drunk or crazy, and several other ladies but so-so," Reid declared. "My time passes in Tallahassee very unpleasantly – passed at the public house where noise and dirt prevail to a disgusting degree."[23] In St. Augustine, East Florida, Reid could segregate himself from the coarse populace, but not in Tallahassee.

Hotel bars and taverns were an important part of Florida's political culture, but for most of the territorial period they lacked significant social barriers. Legislators frequently lived in Tallahassee taverns during sessions and governors occasionally called one of the capital hotels home during their tenure.[24] Initially little separated the quality of these establishments that catered to politicians and common yeomen alike. Gatherings at taverns and hotel bars leading up to elections offered an informal forum for common constituents to reach politicians. "At the appointed hour we found ourselves, with numerous others, filling the hall of the tavern," recalled one Floridian about the eve of a territorial-era election. "Judging from the conversation of the assembled company, generally, there seemed to be but two places of interest in all the inhabitable world, and these were 'Washington City' and 'this Territory,' the changes of which were politics and office holders." At this early Florida election, the observer noted two distinct classes rubbing elbows in the tavern. "Manner was restrained for awhile," the observer noted, "but, with more frequent attacks upon the sideboard, conversation lost its formality, humor was free, and amidst the rising smoke, munching of apples, sucking of oranges, and the cracking of nuts, the scene became merry and noisy; and these republican sovereigns in their equally sovereign

shirt bosoms and collars, were at least monarchs for the time." Still, the observer found, "there were many others present who were not of this melee. Men that had, and would grace any circle, by their intelligence and dignity of bearing; and while I observed the one class, it was very great pleasure to mingle with the other, and listen to their discussion of men and things."[25]

Drinking culture in territorial Apalachicola also blurred social distinctions. Tavern life in the young port initially lacked social boundaries that would come with later settlement. John Chrystie, a warehouse clerk from New York, noted the striking fluidity of social relations in the 1830s. "New Years Eve in Apalachicola there was a ball given by a woman of particularly easy virtue in the lowest class of life," he wrote a friend back in the Empire State. "She managed to muster about 15 or 20 of the same kind of women as herself – everybody was there – all the young cocks – the principle [sic] merchants danced with the draymen's wives and the mayor of Apalachicola played the fiddle for them."[26]

Chrystie also found that serving on slave patrols offered white men of differing classes an opportunity to mingle and share a night of revelry with one another. Though policing disorderly, drunken behavior was one of the functions of the patrols, patrollers sometimes ended their evening rounds by reducing themselves to such an inebriated state. One February patrol in 1839, Chrystie wrote, "we had Bill Foster, Baker, Morton, J Day a pious old Methodist & myself. We entered every negro kitchen in the place made them put out all their lights & so on – some of the scenes we witnessed were tall & some of the doings were also tall I can't describe them on paper but if we meet again I will spin you a yarn on the subject – With such a crowd though as Bill Foster Baker Morton you may conceive – The Methodist caught hell before the night was up. All the patrol wound up the night by taking off a basket of champagne, belonging to somebody or other & getting in a high 'state of excitement.'" Nine days later, Chrystie was back on patrol. This time, he wrote, "the city was quiet & put all the little niggers to bed & laid their mamas along side of them all, they concluded to adjourn to the Hotel & have an oyster supper. Under the effect of oysters & punch the fun became fast & furious." Chrystie described the patrollers: "they got to opening baskets of champagne the bottles of which they circulated with such rapidity that they finally got to throwing them at each others heads . . . black [eyes & bloo]dy noses were rife among the genteel part

Figure 2. French champagne bottles excavated from the site of a territorial-era commission merchant warehouse in Apalachicola. Collection of Dr. Louis Hill of Tallahassee. Photograph by Pierson Hill.

of society."[27] Over time, however, social classes in Apalachicola gradually mingled less with one another as new and remodeled hotels bifurcated the landscape. In 1848, the city council even dissolved patrols, which paired white men of lower and upper social orders, in favor of a town marshal.[28]

Significantly, the wild parties in Chrystie's Apalachicola were fueled not by cheap liquors of the American whiskey glut, but French champagne. Newspaper advertisements from the 1830s indicate that consumers of alcohol did not have to look far to find Bordeaux, Madeira, or port, much less English gin or West Indian rum. What people drank and where they drank it was a statement of social status, but in territorial Florida, such class distinctions were not always so clear. Some residents and elite observers found this lack of demonstrable hierarchy unsettling, if not disturbing. Other merchants found a trade in luxury goods and perfumes in the early 1830s. Elite Floridians desperately wanted to

Figure 3. French wine bottles, ca. territorial-era Apalachicola. Collection of Dr. Louis Hill of Tallahassee. Photograph by Pierson Hill.

Figure 4. Bordeaux wax label, ca. territorial-era Apalachicola. Collection of Dr. Louis Hill of Tallahassee. Photograph by Pierson Hill.

display their wealth and establish an appropriate hierarchy. They could decorate their homes as lavishly as they could afford, but in public life and in taverns, such social distinction was difficult.

Seekers of an altered consciousness could also procure patent medicines for a narcotic effect. Tincture of opium, advertised as an antidysentery drug, was available over the counter in territorial-era commission merchant houses. In Tallahassee, the druggist E. B. Perkins sold a veritable pharmacopeia from his store on Monroe Street. If Castelnau's sketches accurately portray the prominent buildings in the young capital, Perkins's two-story structure on the main street was one of the town's flagship businesses. Perkins sold powerful narcotics openly and without prescription as early as 1830.[29] Opiates such as laudanum and paregoric were hallmarks of the global psychoactive revolution, and their availability in territorial Florida indicates that in terms of mind-altering substances, this region was hardly a frontier. Though demonized as dangerous drugs in the twentieth century, these narcotics, which were sold for medicinal, not psychoactive, purposes, drew no public concern and inspired few calls for reform in the nineteenth century. The same could not be said of alcohol.

Robert Raymond Reid consumed a variety of substances for their psychoactive properties. In his diary he occasionally wrote out his daily schedule, including what he drank and when. He enjoyed wine with his dinner and whiskey toddies before bed, and he smoked several cigars throughout the day. One substance he singled out for praise was Seidlitz Powder, which he claimed had a stimulating effect. The powder, which is an effervescent blend of salts and tartaric acid, has no measurable psychoactive properties, but nevertheless seemed to have had a placebo effect on Reid. "There is nothing like a Seidlitz to relieve the brain from oppression and give a sparkle to the spirits" he wrote on a hot September day in 1833.[30]

Most Floridians were not eager to change drinking culture if the experiences of early temperance reformers provide an accurate gauge. Public drinking, like organized religion, offered companionship and solace, and the popularity of tavern-going had thwarted temperance efforts. Some historians have argued that social anxieties about the changing market economy spurred a national binge in the 1820s. Furthermore, the public house was an important part of early American political culture, serving as a space to share news and discuss politics and also offering a forum

Figure 5. Patent medicines of the Old South. The bottle on the right is a tincture of opium found in the St. Marks River south of Tallahassee. Collection of Dr. Louis Hill of Tallahassee. Photograph by Pierson Hill.

for lower and middling whites to interact with and influence elites.[31] Tallahassee's first temperance society, established in 1830, encountered open opposition in the form of an anti-temperance organization. These opponents of alcohol reform boycotted businesses that supported temperance, effectively cutting the movement down at its knees.[32]

Opponents of temperance knew what was at stake. The tavern helped democratize Middle Florida and to reform this tradition would weaken the common man's public influence. In 1833, most of Tallahassee's white male residents crowded the bar of Brown's Hotel to hold a mock election in defiance of the early teetotal campaign. English traveler Charles Latrobe commented that the inn's patrons, like public life in the young territory generally, had an unsettling lack of hierarchy.[33] Latrobe described the hostile response to temperance as "ludicrous beyond description" as the crowd at Brown's overwhelmingly opposed reform. "It was agreed by the majority of the good people of Tallahassee, to go

on drinking," the Englishman wrote, "and to remain dram-drinkers and tipplers, if not absolute drunkards, in spite of the machinations of the temperance men."[34]

Similarly, in 1841, temperance advocate John S. Tappan complained of the intemperate and brash behavior that he witnessed in Port Leon, a short-lived cotton depot south of Tallahassee. The people whom he met during his brief visit, according to Tappan, were "the 'ruff scuff' of civilization, and as to Law, they don't know what it means for Law and Justice are not in their vocabularies. I was asked to drink 500 times and when I refused they would turn round and look as tho [sic] they were shot." One such spurned individual cornered Tappan and told the teetotaler that "he had heard of Temperance folks and he wanted to see how they looked so he begged the liberty of staring me in the face for ½ an hour."[35] What Tappan experienced in Port Leon was most likely the early American practice of "bearding." Sensing that Tappan thought he was better than him, this man stood toe to toe with the traveler and stared him down from close range, literally near his beard. The act was the opposite of a genuflection and indicative of the leveled class structure among white men.

Opposition to temperance in territorial-era Key West devolved into a charivari known as "washing." On at least one occasion, locals and sailors demonstrated their preference for wet over dry by repeatedly dunking Methodist minister Alexander Graham in the bay. In what was most likely a mock baptism, the tavern crowd ushered Graham to the wharf, harnessed the divine with a rope around his waist and shoulders, and cast him into the saltwater, reeled him in, and repeated the process.[36] The early temperance reformers failed to recognize that the fellowship taverns provided had to be replaced with another form of entertainment for their cause to succeed. They also failed to appreciate that in temperance, reformers threatened to strip power and influence from common white men. Abstinence offered little appeal indeed.

In the 1830s, travelers such as Tappan, Latrobe, and Castelnau described Florida taverns and drinking culture as decidedly masculine – read white male – exercises, but over time the growing female population crept into public life and public houses. In Leon County, for example, the percentage of women in the overall population jumped from 41 to 47 percent between 1825 and 1850, and women's growing influence on public life was palpable.[37] Mary, Agnes, and Jane Bates, three

sisters from New England, began operating a school for girls in Tallahassee in the 1840s. Female educational opportunities – as both students and teachers – were a new and progressive development in the antebellum South.[38] Throughout the territory, women began to organize charities and humanitarian aid for a number of causes – most notably orphan and poor relief. These charities do not appear to have been sustained efforts, but rather periodic fundraising campaigns. Nevertheless, the fairs that women organized for such purposes allowed them to operate in public, manage significant sums of money, and influence public policy. After a group known as the Ladies of Tallahassee held a fair in 1833 to establish a school for orphans and poor children in the capital, the Legislative Council followed their humanitarian lead. In 1839, the council agreed that 2 percent of territorial taxes collected in each county be set aside for education of the poor.[39]

Like in the antebellum South generally, in Florida women's property rights also progressed – albeit not substantially – throughout the territorial period.[40] In 1828, the Legislative Council established dower rights for Florida widows in the event a woman's husband died intestate; seven years later, a married woman gained the right to "sell, convey, transfer, or mortgage" any inherited property with her husband's approval; finally, in 1845, the council decreed that a wife's inherited property could remain "separate, independent, and beyond the control of the husband," but still required a husband's approval for sale and would remain in his management. Though these advances were not substantial victories for women's rights, they did represent a subtle shift in gender power within the household.[41] Born amid this changing landscape, temperance reform was partly a reaction to the growth of feminine influence.

Charles A. Hentz, a twenty-one-year-old physician who moved to Port Jackson, Florida, from North Carolina in 1848, condemned tavern life not only for destabilizing the social hierarchy, but for the resultant gender disorder as well. In the small town located on the Apalachicola River, public drinking offended the doctor's sensibilities. Hentz proclaimed that the village was "one of the worst, whisky drinking, fighting, horse racing, gambling communities, to be found this side of Texas, I suppose . . . rectified whisky only cost about 27 ½ cts. a gallon, by the barrel –; and it was abundant."[42] Of the village's two taverns, Bob Crawford's grog shop at the ferry crossing was most troubling, particularly

because of the way it had transformed its owner. According to Hentz, "Crawford was a fine looking man – of a good family –; nephew of Hon. W.H. Crawford of Ga.; [but] had thrown himself entirely away."[43] Crawford's house catered to the "riff raff of the country," but worst of all, and the true indicator that the once promising man had succumbed to the heart of darkness, was that Crawford lived with a "greasy black woman." Crawford's brazen miscegenation certainly accounts for much of Hentz's disgust, but gender as well as race factored into his consternation. Though records on Middle Florida taverns are scant, there is evidence of female participation in the liquor trade in the 1840s. Downriver from Hentz in the cotton port of Apalachicola, Mary Hesson and Janet Campbell both held licenses to retail spirituous liquors in the 1840s.[44] Occasionally, women's charitable work invaded the taverns as well. A group known as the Young Misses of the Presbyterian Church held meetings in a Tallahassee tavern in 1847 to organize their relief efforts.[45]

Contemporary Middle Florida voices such as Hentz's indicate that women's growing presence in public life generally also helps to explain the eventual move toward temperance reform. The Tallahassee *Floridian* reported with alarm that a woman stood up and berated pro-bank candidates at a political barbecue in 1840. The devalued currency of territorial-backed banks had hit yeoman communities hard, and this woman felt compelled to shame the stumping politicians. The paper reported that the woman stood up at the end of the rally and exclaimed, "It's of no use for the Bank men to come here and make fine speeches and promises to the people. We know what it all means, and we know that when a poor man goes to Tallahassee to enter an eighth of land, he has to take one hundred and fifty dollars in Union money to get a hundred to pay for his land. It's of no use for them to talk until they make their money better."[46] Such an outspoken woman undoubtedly jarred the sensibilities of the elite politicians.

If a breakdown in gender roles threatened some Middle Floridians, everyone had to cope with the economic depression, periodic outbreaks of yellow fever, and the constant threat of Native American raids. During the Second Seminole War (1835–1842), Tallahasseeans lived in fear of attack. In 1836, rumors abounded that Osceola planned to attack the capital and perform the Green Corn Dance of victory. Later that year, local militia sent women and children into the center of the city and blockaded the roads leading to town with cotton bales. The emergency

measures were taken after a resident spotted an Indian crawling on all fours on the outskirts of town. After closer inspection, however, the militia realized that the quadruped was in fact a foraging pig. To maintain vigilance against an attack, residents cleared a wide swath of land encircling the city. The intention was to prevent any surprise attack by eliminating forest cover. Even church architecture reflected the siege mentality of the late territorial period. Builders fortified the basement of Tallahassee's Presbyterian church, constructed in 1840, with rifle pits.[47] As skittish as Tallahasseeans seem in hindsight, their actions were not unreasonable. Seminoles did attack several homes east of the capital in 1836, but the threat proved fleeting.[48]

As chaotic as life was in Middle Florida, relatively few people sought comfort in evangelicalism before the revivals of 1842. Even though the free population of the county by 1840 totaled more than 3,000, only 120 souls registered as members of Tallahassee's Methodist Episcopal church in 1841.[49] Compared to membership levels after the county experienced its awakening the following year, local evangelical churches – Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian – enjoyed only modest participation. St. John's Episcopal Church, a Protestant but non-evangelical congregation, boasted the names of many local elites, but the church struggled to find a permanent rector.[50] A bulwark in the Spanish period of Florida, the Catholic Church likewise had difficulty maintaining a priest in the territorial capital.[51]

A series of catastrophic events between 1835 and 1842, however, led to a stronger evangelical presence in Leon County and Middle Florida as a whole. The Second Seminole War, a yellow fever epidemic, and a prolonged depression following the Panic of 1837 created an apocalyptic atmosphere that made the evangelical message of personal salvation more appealing. The upheaval factored in a political transformation as well. An upstart faction, later coalescing as the territory's Democratic Party, blamed the depression on the collapse of territorial-backed banks. The nascent Democrats usurped the Nucleus, a previously dominant political clique that supported the banks and that also disproportionately represented the interests of Middle Florida's planter elite. In the first years of the turmoil, political and religious cultures dealt with the disorder on their own terms. Yet an aggressive temperance campaign and the formation of a two-party political system brought sacred and secular together in the early 1840s.

During territorial Florida's first two decades, the Middle Florida planter elite attempted to dominate politics and the economy. In many ways the crucible of this influence was the Union Bank. Thousand-dollar bonds sold in international money markets financed the bank, which the Legislative Council chartered in 1833. Leon County planter and governor William DuVal and other members of the Nucleus clique were ardent supporters of the institution. Financed by territorially backed bonds, the bank primarily benefited Leon County planters, who borrowed money to enlarge their holdings in land and slaves. When the bank collapsed in the wake of the Panic of 1837, opponents of the Nucleus had the leverage they needed to dismantle the dominant group. As a result of this fallout, the first two-party system in Florida politics would emerge.[52]

Until the 1838–1839 Constitutional Convention at St. Joseph, however, no political parties existed in the territory. Annexed by the United States amid the "Era of Good Feelings," the period bracketed by the fall of the Federalists and the rise of Jacksonian Democracy, Florida politics had factions but no distinct parties. Party politics began to take shape when delegates to the St. Joseph convention discussed terms for Florida statehood. The recent economic downturn already had heavily colored delegate elections as voters realized that the Union Bank's imminent collapse would come at the whole territory's expense. As a result, "locofoco," or anti-bank, forces formed the convention's majority. In subsequent elections, the Locofocos – who would soon coalesce as the Florida Democratic Party – dismantled the Nucleus's power structure.[53]

The Whig Party was slower to develop as a unified organization. Humbled by their recent defeat, pro-bank politicians lacked an appealing platform. Yet national political events in 1840 offered a glimmer of hope to bank supporters in Florida. That year, electors ousted anti-bank President Martin Van Buren in favor of the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison. Former Nucleus member and future Whig Richard Keith Call, whom Van Buren removed as territorial governor in 1839, was quickly reinstated by Harrison in 1841. Yet in the 1841 territorial elections the anti-bank Democrats continued their recent dominance and swept both houses of the Legislative Council. Fortunately for the Whigs, a promising evangelical development, the temperance campaign, would help the pro-bank party reestablish political clout the following year.[54]

Before 1842, Middle Floridians had little interest in curbing their alcohol consumption. In agrarian communities throughout the South, strong drink played an important part in preindustrial life. For poor and middling whites, corn liquor was not only a popular spirit, but an important trade commodity as well. On the other hand, brandy and wine were integral to the planter elite's ability to be gracious and honorable hosts. Therefore in places such as Leon County, Florida, people were resistant to temperance because it sought to reduce drastically or eliminate entirely routines and customs that characterized their lives. These alcohol mores, more so than temperance reform's association with abolitionism, hampered its success in the antebellum South.[55] Furthermore, thanks to state prohibitions on the Indian and enslaved populations, more than half of the population lived under prohibitionist legislation already.

By the early 1840s, however, Middle Floridians wondered if their intemperate ways had gone too far. Evangelical ministers were quick to tell them that they had indeed. Native American raids had abated, but a deadly yellow fever epidemic and the unrelenting depression convinced a growing number of Middle Floridians that temperance reform was the answer to their problems. Evangelical ministers such as Tallahassee's Joshua Knowles were quick to confirm such soul searching. Editor of Tallahassee's *Florida Sentinel* in addition to being minister of Tallahassee's Methodist church, the Massachusetts native proudly claimed that he served both "Church and State" as he blended his paper's Whig endorsement with calls for evangelical reform. He regularly exhorted readers in the early 1840s to dedicate themselves to an improved lifestyle by publishing a series of morality tales that prescribed social and familial roles for men and women.[56] Fables such as "A Drunkard's Fate" and "The Fatal Worm" (referring to distillation coils) demonstrated the dire consequences that a man's excessive drinking had on families.[57] Still, in April 1842, the *Florida Sentinel* reported that the local temperance society could claim only five or six members.[58] Yet two months later, the cause would be revived thanks to the Washingtonian sensation and its arrival in Florida.

The Washington Temperance Society originated in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1840. Whereas earlier organizations usually consisted of individuals who were more or less lifetime teetotalers, the Washingtonian founders considered themselves to be dry drunks and wanted to convert others to their new lifestyle. Many Americans found the new,

more aggressive, and proselytizing message appealing. Within two years, Washingtonian societies mushroomed throughout the nation as the evangelical campaign convinced thousands of drinkers to sign an abstinence pledge.[59] Unlike other parts of the Union, however, Floridian society had not been exposed to earlier, and more democratizing, revivalism. Elsewhere in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the spread of evangelicalism possessed a radical message that challenged patriarchal race and gender mores. But the delayed arrival of religiosity in Florida reinforced rather than weakened white patriarchy.[60] While participation in reform campaigns in Virginia had given women a lasting voice in antebellum political culture, in Florida they had never gained this forum. Hence their influence on public life in the 1840s and 1850s remained limited.[61]

A Washingtonian revival had a dramatic and martial flair and participants acted out clearly delineated gender roles on the public stage. At a Quincy "cold water barbecue" in July 1842, participants paraded to the Methodist church for speeches and a signing of the teetotal pledge. Women were denied membership in Washingtonian societies, and female participation was limited to making paraphernalia – banners and flags – and riding in carriages flanked by the men *à cheval*. "Finely mounted, with badges on their left breast and the banner of Temperance unfurled to the breeze," the men flexed a muscular Christianity as they promenaded to their events.[62] Whereas women enjoyed speaking responsibilities in other locales, these opportunities never appear to have been extended in Florida. Men did speak on women's behalf though, and emphasized the allegedly feminine qualities of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness – sometimes referred to as the Cult of True Womanhood – that temperance embraced.[63] Colonel R. B. Houghton, at a Fourth of July celebration in Quincy, exclaimed that as woman's power reached every "recess of the physical world, so does *her* influence pervade, as by hidden spell, every department of man's moral and social being." Houghton then proceeded to exhort the women in the crowd that it was their social responsibility to protect not only their own homes from intemperance, but the homes of the less fortunate as well. He continued:

> Can she remain unaffected, while it [intemperance] is wringing from the heart-broken wife, not only tears of grief, but hopeless bitter tears of shame, as she beholds him whose manly graces had won her from the home of her

> infancy, and who at love's holy altar had sworn to cherish her as the apple of his eye and to shield her young and innocent heart from the unpitying blasts of the world's unkindness . . . as she beholds that man, so debasing his life, that even his death would be a mercy. . . . No! No! The benevolence of her gentle nature recoils at scenes like these.[64]

As Houghton's speech indicated, temperance forces were reacting to manhood run amok and, in his eyes, the plantation frontier badly needed an infusion of feminine mores.[65]

The campaign leaders' decision to embrace rather than abandon cherished civic celebrations and large-scale social interaction also factored into their success. Thus the Washingtonian revivals flourished because they substituted for masculine drinking rituals and provided an alternative form of intoxication. At no time was this more important than the Fourth of July. Traditionally, Independence Day in territorial Florida was a disorderly and intemperate affair. Fistfights and other expressions of manly aggression were hallmarks of a day usually commanded by "Gen. Rum, Col. Whiskey, Maj. Brandy, Capt. Gin, and the whole staff," according to one reformer.[66] Most likely aware on some level that Floridians enjoyed the holiday as an outlet to release and mollify community tensions, reformers carefully choreographed their public expressions of sobriety on the Fourth of July.

Evangelicals such as Joshua Knowles also remained intent on not letting the infusion of feminine ideals translate into greater female influence on political culture generally. The minister/editor juxtaposed notices of temperance meetings with morality tales that praised female subservience and sharply criticized women who overstepped their bounds. A short vignette from 1842 demonstrated the insecurity that temperance reformers had toward women. Titled "Flirting," the short piece chastised young females who enjoyed toying with men's affections. The anonymous author claimed that the resulting torment compared to torturing a defenseless species of beetle known as a cockchafer. The author then asked of his female readers, "if that cockchafer could live after it had been subjected to such treatment, and had its thoughts and perceptions such as we have, would it regard with admiration, or a heart disposed to affection, those who had tormented it?" In the parlance and vernacular of the twenty-first century, the author's insect analogy would appear to be an overt and rather coarse phallic reference, but the sexual meta-

phor was most likely unintended by its nineteenth-century author. Still, the story had a clear message to young women: attempts to wield sexual power would weaken their possibility of marriage.[67] As all readers knew, spinsterhood offered bleak economic and social opportunities throughout the early republic.[68]

Tallahassee schoolteacher Mary Bates corroborated Knowles's concerns about women treating men carelessly in antebellum Florida. "I am some times shocked, some times vexed at the way some of the people here talk about these things," an exasperated Bates wrote in 1845. "I heard a lady say the other day that she 'would marry *any man* who would give her rank and wealth.'" Bates described an encounter with a Florida woman who had opportunistically strung a number of suitors along:

> Poor girl, she is looking about in Florida for a *great match*, has twice broken her engagement, after allowing two gentlemen, her fiancées, to subject themselves to great sacrifices for her – and this is the lady who thinks my ideas will lead to unhappiness. She says she does not think it proper for ladies to love – I know it is absurd to sacrifice prudence &c to a wild fancy & yet it seems to me absurd and more wicked to make mere externals, which a breath may blow away, the governing motives in transactions of this nature.[69]

Bates pointed out that some of her friends feared that her pursuit of love rather than wealth and status would be unsuccessful and would ultimately lead to unhappiness. They offered to introduce her to potential suitors. In a sarcastic reply, the annoyed schoolteacher exclaimed:

> I have some kind friends who are afraid I shall not be taken care of, and in their plans it amuses me to hear them recommend their friends – "He is rich," or "he is going to be governor" or something else equally *important* to *domestic happiness*. But in a country where *people live out of doors this perhaps should not be considered*. But to be serious, it does make me tremble to see how very lightly such momentous affairs are treated.[70]

While Bates fretted over the opportunism among young women in Tallahassee, Knowles expounded on the appropriate behavior for women as spouses. As the temperance revivals gained momentum in the summer of 1842, he offered another morality tale. Titled "The Wife," the story recounted an unhappy marriage. The cause of discord, according to the

anonymous author, was the husband's greed and runaway ambition. The man's selfishness led to crime and ultimately imprisonment with impending execution. Rather than condemn the wayward husband, the story abruptly ended with the heartbroken but dutiful wife visiting her husband in jail. Exchanging clothes with her condemned spouse, the woman took his place in the dungeon while the man slipped away in feminine disguise. "They did not meet again – that wife and husband – but only as the dead may meet – in the awful communings of another world," the author wrote. "Affection had borne up her exhausted spirit, until the last great purpose of her exertions was accomplished in the safety of her husband; and when the bell tolled on the morrow and the prisoners cell was opened, the guards found, wrapped in the habiliments of their destined victim, the pale, but still beautiful corse [sic] of the devoted WIFE."[71]

Besides the gender factor that made reform attractive to white males, the territory's political environment proved to be responsive as well. Months before Washingtonians organized in Tallahassee, the Whig-supporting *Florida Sentinel* kept residents abreast of the movement's activities. In August 1841, the paper announced that "amidst the general gloom and despondency of the times, it is pleasing to contemplate the triumphant progress of this holy cause . . . we are happy to see by the papers from Washington that the cause of temperance is meeting the consideration of men in high places."[72] The following June, the movement finally reached Middle Florida when Leon County's Total Abstinence Society held its first meeting at the Methodist Episcopal church. "Thank God," exclaimed the *Florida Sentinel* correspondent, "the people of Florida are at last awake upon this momentous subject, and are coming nobly to its aid."[73]

Furthermore, mounting class tensions stemming from the financial crisis left elite politicians in search of an issue with which to reach yeoman voters. The temperance movement's popularity among all classes made it a viable candidate. For example, Tallahassee's Total Abstinence Society boasted the names of prominent elites such as the organization's chairman, Dr. G. W. Call, brother of Governor Richard Keith Call. In northern Leon County, reformers held camp meetings at decidedly yeoman churches, such as Pisgah Methodist in Centreville and Shiloh Baptist off the Miccosukee Road.[74] Social networks formed around the evangelical churches were the heart of Leon County communities. Usually

located at crossroads (and preferably near bodies of water), churches served as meeting places, not just for religious services, but for secular gatherings as well. Political barbecues and rallies held at places like Pisgah and Shiloh certainly blurred the lines between sacred and secular in Middle Florida's political culture. Pro-bank Whigs' effort to garner yeoman votes at such barbecues failed miserably in 1839 and 1840. On several occasions, yeomen verbally or physically assaulted Whig politicians. As mentioned above, one Jefferson County rally hosted by pro-bank forces in 1840 ended in embarrassment when an elderly woman berated the pro-bank men over the weak value of Union bank currency. At Centreville on Election Day a year earlier, yeoman and bank opponent "Governor" Barnes goaded pro-bank planter-merchant Richard Hayward into a fistfight. Clearly out of his element in the shadow of Pisgah, Hayward received a bloody and humbling beating from Barnes's calloused hands.[75]

Not surprisingly then, anti-bank Democrats enjoyed recent domination of Middle Florida elections and controlled both houses of the Legislative Council in 1841.[76] Yet the temperance revivals, which the pro-Whig *Florida Sentinel* endorsed well before the 1842 awakening, provided the connective tissue that enabled the Whigs to reach out to yeoman voters. While some prominent Democrats – namely James D. Westcott – supported temperance, the movement decidedly benefited the Whigs. The pro-bank party argued that their opponents' economic principles represented dangerously irresponsible fiscal policy. In the campaign to pacify the chaotic times, the Whig message of order and stable banking comported well with the crusade against intemperance.

As the fall 1842 Legislative Council elections neared, Whigs held cold water barbecues for their candidates. Drinking spring water had become a tradition at temperance meetings and celebrations. Thus combining popular religious and political traditions, Whig candidates George T. Ward and David S. Walker "and a large number of their respective citizens . . . regaled themselves on fine barbecued meats, and cool spring water" at a Tallahassee rally in August.[77] In addition, the 1842 cold water barbecues found better reception among the yeomanry than the rallies of preceding years. In a relieved tone, the *Florida Sentinel* reported that at one such event in late August, "the discussion was conducted with ability, and nothing occurred to mar that personal good feeling which we are happy to see pervades on all occasions."[78] One month later, the

Whigs swept elections in Leon County and took control of both houses in the Legislative Council.[79]

The Whig emergence demonstrated the evangelical influence on Florida political culture. Still, politicians remained reluctant to endorse laws that prohibited alcohol sale or consumption. Whig Governor Richard Keith Call lauded temperance efforts in his address to the Legislative Council in 1843, but he, like most politicians and reformers, preferred moral rather than legislative suasion for temperate behavior.[80] The heart of the evangelical message was to convert individual sinners, rather than endorse wholesale social change.

When one considers the cultural factors surrounding the 1842 elections, however, it becomes clear that religion did influence political culture, even if legislative prohibition was not yet palatable. Temperance meetings and revivals mobilized the population when hundreds of converts signed teetotal pledges and joined evangelical churches in 1842. Tallahassee's Methodist church alone added more than two hundred members that year.[81] Whig politicians utilized these gatherings to link their message of sound and orderly banking to temperance, which similarly strove for reliable conduct. Though Florida's antebellum temperance movement stalled after 1844 and the Whig Party collapsed a decade later, their coalescence had a lasting impact on political culture in the state.[82] The 1842 revivals laid the foundation for measures that would come decades later.

Historian Edward Baptist examined these class struggles inherent in Middle Florida politics. He argued that Middle Florida's merchant-planter class suffered a string of defeats in the 1840s at the hands of the plucky yeomen. Through physical confrontations and their support of anti-bank Democrats, common white men challenged elite authority and humbled elites' masculinity and honor. The popularity of evangelicalism, he argued, represented a concession from the elites to the yeomen. The surge in evangelical popularity, however, did more to redeem elite men than empower their yeoman counterparts. After territorially backed banks – particularly Tallahassee's Union Bank – had been exposed in the late 1830s as special-interest institutions for their elite shareholders, beneficiaries of the discredited banks found a new home in the emerging Whig Party.[83] The Whigs in turn sanctified and legitimated their presence by supporting social reform, particularly temperance. Baptist rightly argued that the bank men and Florida's planter elite

papered over humbling setbacks in their memoirs and invented a harmonious past that never was. Yet the political victor of the tumultuous class struggles was undoubtedly the merchant-planter class. Evangelicalism and its accompanying reform movements were therefore not a concession to the yeomen, as Baptist contended, but rather had the consequence of restricting common whites' access to the public sphere.[84]

Revivals continued to erupt sporadically throughout Middle Florida until the Civil War. Rather than eventually offering women leadership roles in the related temperance movement, the dry campaign marginalized them. By the late 1840s, the Washingtonian societies had been supplanted by the equally militaristic Sons of Temperance. The Washingtonians had denied women membership, but had at least permitted female participation in rallies. The Sons of Temperance held meetings in secret and, though they would later soften this view, initially discouraged female participation. As a result, when sectional division increasingly dominated politics in the 1850s, women's voices in Florida's secession movement lacked the influence that they had in other southern states.[85]

The revivals of 1842 would inspire legislative changes toward tavern regulations and, in the coming decades, Middle Florida drinking culture would change dramatically. Equally important, reformers like Joshua Knowles began to shape social attitudes about tavern life and alcohol as agents of debilitation. The revivals of 1842 and the cold water barbecues condemned the cherished tradition of treating. Common white men in Middle Florida, like yeomen throughout the United States, appreciated the democratization that such events provided. They had greater concerns, however. Death and violence stoked fears of an unhappy and vengeful Providence. Evangelical ministers, using newspapers such as Knowles's *Sentinel* and their own pulpits, told Middle Floridians that alcohol whether fermented or distilled led to sin.

Compared to New England, Middle Florida did not prove to be fertile ground for sustained temperance organizations. Middle-class groups such as the American Temperance Union, which had popularized cold water traditions in the Northeast, did not take root there. Comparatively speaking, fewer Floridians were willing to step forward and sign teetotal pledges and vow to abstain from alcohol. Such statistics should not obscure the realities of intoxicants and how they were regulated. By 1842, Middle Floridians were thinking long and hard about the

devastating effects of alcohol consumption. White Floridians began to accept that tavern life could be destructive and they came to this conclusion even though more than half of the population in the region—enslaved people—was already prohibited from buying the substance. If one assesses the changes in drinking culture over the scope of the territorial period, then, Floridians were hardly averse to tempering the public consumption of alcohol.

2 "We have got no billiard saloon"

Temperance in Antebellum Florida

Florida's temperance movement could not sustain the initial enthusiasm that the Washingtonians delivered in 1842. The societies that reformers created that summer and fall gradually lost momentum and by decade's end, they had all but disappeared in Florida. Poor organization that plagued the group on national, state, and local levels certainly contributed to its decline. Some scholars have argued that southerners turned against temperance because some of its strongest supporters nationally – Arthur and Lewis Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison, to name a few – were also staunch abolitionists. However, closer inspection of southern communities, such as those that dotted Middle Florida, reveals that support for temperance remained vibrant even if some organizations did not survive. Moreover, the crusade against public drinking continued to influence antebellum political culture and southern mores to the eve of secession. Even though Washingtonian societies faded into the background after their dramatic entrance in 1842, their members did not. Temperance advocates eventually found a new voice in the Sons of Temperance, a more militaristic and stridently masculine group.[1]

The temperance movement experienced ebbs and flows throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Support of the cause surged after revivals and then

experienced periodic decline. Hostility to the movement persisted and confrontations between wet and dry forces erupted sporadically. Unlike the 1830s, when drinkers harassed isolated teetotalers, the Sons of Temperance had strength in numbers. If threatened, they fought back. Also important to the campaign's success was continued political support initially from the Whigs and later from Democrats. Like Whigs nationally, those in Florida endorsed evangelical reform as a cure to the young state's social ills, and the movement enjoyed steady support from Whig newspapers.[2] Yet the national party could not survive the fallout from the crisis and compromise of 1850; Florida's Whig Party disintegrated by 1854. Even as the Whigs collapsed, temperance strengthened in the early 1850s as Democrats (who included among their numbers former Whigs) assumed the banner and pushed for legal suasion and legislative action against the liquor traffic. Though legislative reform failed, the efforts would foreshadow a strong push to allow county-level dry campaigns (also known as "local option") after the Civil War.

Florida's antebellum legislature resisted measures for statewide prohibition and the local option, but licensing requirements for liquor retailers and tavern keepers became more stringent in the 1840s and early 1850s. Middle Florida communities began to crack down on disorderly public houses with heavy fines. A related development was an emerging class distinction in public drinking spaces. The classless revelry that had defined territorial-era elections inspired one resident to remark, "Florida seems to embrace all descriptions of men from the most refined and well educated to the most vulgar and stupidly ignorant."[3] Yet these occasions diminished thanks to local ordinances that restricted such behavior. As Middle Florida became more settled, establishments that advertised luxury accommodations and sought out elite patrons began to appear in towns such as Tallahassee and Apalachicola.

Furthermore, the racial motivations for temperance reform also remained at the forefront in the 1840s and 1850s. State law forbade the sale of alcohol to slaves – a provision that stretched back to 1834 – and twenty years later the state extended the interdiction to all mulattos and blacks, whether free or enslaved.[4] Middle Florida counties prosecuted retailers and tavern keepers who violated this prohibition along racial lines. Based on antebellum grand jury presentments, many white Floridians felt that grog shops lubricated and emboldened the enslaved population and contributed to incidents of misconduct.[5] The campaign

against such establishments therefore sought to strengthen the slaveholder aristocracy and eliminate challenges to their authority. Thus as sectional lines worsened nationally over the slavery question, Florida's planter-merchant aristocracy gained allies in evangelical churches and the temperance reform that they supported.

After the initial enthusiasm for temperance in 1842, reformers in Florida had reason to be hopeful. Thirty-two delegates representing Washingtonian societies from throughout Florida converged on Tallahassee's Presbyterian church the following January to establish a territorial temperance organization. The group resolved to rely on moral rather than legal suasion to battle the liquor traffic even though legislative prohibition was already in place for the Native American and enslaved populations. Florida's Washingtonians also adopted a standard teetotal pledge that reflected their aims to reform society, or more accurately, the white population: "We hereby pledge ourselves not to use intoxicating drinks, nor provide them for the entertainment of our friends, as a beverage; but will use our influence, on all suitable occasions, in all suitable ways, to discourage their use by others."[6] While delegates shunned legal suasion in 1843, the movement was already closely tied to partisan politics, specifically the emerging Whigs.

Florida's Washingtonians did not mirror fellow members in other parts of the republic. Typically, Washingtonian societies appealed to an urban, working-class population who were adjusting to the market revolution and the demands of a new time-work schedule.[7] Hallmarks of Washingtonian revivals were emotional "experience speeches" of reformed working-class drunkards. Though Middle Florida's cotton economy was inextricably tied to the whims of international markets, manufacturing growth and urbanization made little headway in the state before the Civil War. As a result, Florida's Washingtonian societies had fewer working-class men to recruit. Tellingly, the Middle Florida town with the largest population of urban workers, Apalachicola, had the most sustained Washingtonian movement.[8]

A revival in Tallahassee in 1843 demonstrated the demographics of most Middle Florida reformers. Two months after the inaugural territorial temperance convention, Nathan Hoyt, a Presbyterian minister from Athens, Georgia, conducted a successful protracted meeting in Tallahassee. "Some weeks before my arrival in the place," he wrote, "the Temperance cause had arrested the attention of the people, & its

progress has been onward & its results glorious." Hoyt found that he could build on the Washingtonians' success when thirty-three souls publicly professed their conversions on the meeting's final day. The conversions crossed denominational lines as Methodists, Episcopalians, and a small number of Baptists joined the Presbyterian revival.[9]

Despite the ecumenical nature of the gathering, converts did not represent a cross-section of Leon County's population. The protracted meeting primarily attracted elite and bourgeois men. "A large portion of the Subjects of this revival are among the first & most influential classes in society," Hoyt recalled. "There we saw Physicians, Lawyers, Merchants, Planters, & Legislators." The previous fall, Whig politicians had reached yeoman voters on the common ground of temperance, but as the movement moved forward class lines remained.[10] Hoyt connected the elite's reform spirit with a recent campaign to quell violence in Middle Florida. Virginia native Francis Eppes, a descendent of Thomas Jefferson and temperance supporter, served as Tallahassee intendant – a position similar to a mayor – and pushed a number of local ordinances aimed at bringing law and order to the capital in the late 1840s. Eppes's efforts targeted violence that had given Florida a reputation for riotous behavior.[11] Hoyt also expressed surprise that so many of his converts were male. "It is a remarkable fact that in this revival, more males than females were hopefully converted," he wrote. Only five of the eighteen individuals who expressed conversion and joined the local Presbyterian church were female.[12] Had Hoyt been more acutely aware of the masculine emphasis of the temperance movement, the evangelical appeal would not have been unexpected.

Young Ellen Call, daughter of Governor Richard Keith Call, recollected the divide between town and country in Middle Florida that often ran along class lines. Her account was consistent with that of Hoyt's. The congregation of Tallahassee's St. John's Episcopal Church, Call remembered, "was well-dressed; gentlemen in fine blue cloth, brass buttons, high black socks, and stiff, sharp cornered collars, and ruffled bosoms, though a little out of date, gave none the less an air of marked elegance to their appearance. They wore watches, chains, and seals, and my friend said, many had their genealogical parchments at home . . . and there were ladies who, as everywhere were becomingly dressed, and gentle in bearing." Call was especially fond of Rector James Y. Tyng, whose name she believed was "synonymous with sound teaching, present usefulness,

and ancestral claims."[13] On the other hand, Call mocked the emotional, and what she deemed as ignorant, revivalism that she witnessed at a camp meeting along Lake Miccosukee on the border between Leon and Jefferson counties. "There were divines of ability present," she admitted, "but this is a general arena for religious outbursts." In an attempt to convey the ignorance of one "barbarous voiced" minister, she excerpted his sermon in his country dialect: "'We are never too old to learn nohow, and you have to believe on Geezus anyhow. You have got to renounce the devil, and all his works . . . and if you don't do it you will be on the judgemint day like old Hickory was at the battle of New Orleans, a-calling for cotton bales, more cotton bales; just so you will be calling for Geezus, more Geezus, but Geezus will be 'tother side of Jordan, and won't hear you.'"[14]

In the late 1840s, tensions between Episcopalians and Methodists erupted in Gadsden County over the liquor question and the earlier ecumenical spirit evaporated. At the center of the storm were Methodist itinerant Simon Peter Richardson and Episcopal minister John Jackson Scott. Richardson's crusade against alcohol irritated Scott, who, not coincidentally, was an oenophile and a son of low country South Carolina.[15] Richardson helped found a local division of the Sons of Temperance, while Jackson held that responsible individuals had the right to consume alcohol – a practice he believed had scriptural precedent. Scott openly opposed the temperance society and preached against the organization. According to Richardson, Scott considered temperance "baptized infidelity." Therefore, Richardson argued, "I felt it my duty to preach against the preacher, and stated that if I were to take out a search warrant for a jug, the first place I would look would be the house of the preacher who preached against temperance societies." Incidentally, "I did not know," the itinerant continued, "that he had, only a few days before, laid in a good supply of brandy. He came down town very much enraged at my remarks and said if the enlightened cultured people could stand such ministerial abuse he would resign and leave town." The following year, Scott transferred to a Pensacola parish and Richardson continued his crusade against the evils of the liquor trade in Quincy.[16]

Yet resistance to temperance in Middle Florida continued. Richardson claimed that the local sheriff himself owned a grog shop and told the divine that if he "would attend to [his] preaching and quit meddling with other people's business [he] might do good." The fire-breathing minister

did not heed the lawman's advice and his crusade met with mixed results. At his Sunday school in Quincy, Richardson tried to recruit new members into the Sons of Temperance, but found that class issues hurt his efforts. Unlike Nathan Hoyt, who earlier found support from wealthier Floridians, Richardson observed a more lax attitude among the "responsible classes." "I often urged the fathers of them to come fully into the temperance cause and bring the boys with them," he recalled. "They bade me Godspeed in my efforts to reform the drunkards, but seemed to feel that they and their sons were in no danger – that they lived on a plane above the danger line."[17]

Richardson had more success recruiting older students at a local school run by a member of his Methodist congregation. One night while eating dinner with the young men, the minister brought up a local grog shop that had been opened in a log cabin on the town square. At the table, Richardson commented that "if it was in some places the boys would tear it down." None too pleased with the suggestion, the principal complained that the fiery minister would get the school in trouble. Richardson consoled the principal and said that the boys would never act on it. The next morning, however, "the house was down and the whiskey barrels [were] in the ditch," and Richardson soon learned that the boys were indeed responsible. Rather than convince them to come forward, the minister counseled the boys and their principal to lie low. Meanwhile, the owner, a backslidden Presbyterian named Forbes, "became wrathy [sic] and went to a lawyer." Yet no charges were ever filed and the minister felt no remorse for the drastic action. "We tear down pesthouses and burn them," he later reasoned, "why not tear down a whiskey shop? It's the worst kind of pest house." One resident who eventually sought out Richardson's help in the temperance cause was the originally obstinate sheriff. The constable's liquor shop had "well-nigh ruined his two oldest boys" and now the lawman and former publican fully supported Richardson's efforts and became saddened when the conference sent the Methodist to St. Mary's in East Florida.[18]

In his peregrinations, Richardson found Florida still retained frontier characteristics and felt it necessary to remain armed. Following an evening service on the Wakulla Circuit in the southern part of Middle Florida, Richardson and fellow preacher Charles E. Dyke braced for a fight with local ruffians. Toward the end of the service "in walked seven

men, some with hats on and others caps; all had cigars in their mouths." When the service ended, the toughs walked outside and waited for the congregation to exit. As the crowd left the church, the men "mounted their horses and gave the order to charge. . . . The brethren grabbed sticks, and anything they could lay their hands on, to defend themselves." When the charge failed to injure the minister the men fled, but one of their congregants informed Richardson and Dyke that the men had gone ahead to a creek ford to ambush the preachers who were on their way back to Tallahassee. The brother told them that the highwaymen had "loaded their pistols and whetted their knives over at the turpentine mill that afternoon for the purpose of putting us through." Dyke, who also edited the Democratic *Floridian and Journal* in Tallahassee, convinced Richardson that they should press on and confront the men. Though he believed the men were drunk and unknown to the preachers, Richardson reluctantly agreed.

> Brother Dyke began to shake and he asked me for my knife. I had just bought a very fine, large, long-bladed new knife. I told him No, I would use it myself. He said he would fight with a loaded whip I had. I saw he was in no condition to meet so serious an issue, and opened my knife and in cold blood decided to meet the issue alone. I knew an attempt to reason with them would be futile. It was simply a case of life and death, and I decided to kill as many as I could before they got ready. I knew I could kill the four on the ground before they could arrest me, by placing my long, keen blade below their ribs. . . . Just as I clutched my knife for its deadly work, and was in the act of leaving the buggy to make short work of the man nearest me, the brethren spoke and said the roughs had gone on. Seven of the brethren had stopped when they came up to where those fellows were waiting, and they discreetly moved on. How thankful to God I was that those desperadoes went on their way![19]

Richardson's campaign against drinking, a crusade he fought with fellow evangelicals, helped to create a pathological reputation for alcohol and the alcohol trade. Taverns were pest houses that had to be destroyed on behalf of the greater good. Tangible legislative results in the form of prohibition were still decades away, but Richardson's work was not for naught. He helped create the idea that the alcohol traffic should be attacked with violence if necessary, and he instilled this idea in an emerging generation of Floridians. When this generation would come to

dominate politics in the 1870s and 1880s, they would shift the moral suasion agenda aside in favor of prohibition.

The class division within Middle Florida religious culture that Call, Hoyt, and Richardson described also began to be reflected in public drinking spaces. Over time and as settlement increased, old hotels refurbished and began to specialize in expensive, imported alcohol and cigars, and became more selective of patrons. New and remodeled establishments advertised fine cuisine and brass rail accommodations. The better classes began to withdraw from rowdier public houses. In Tallahassee, acts of both God and man ushered in these changes. An 1843 fire swept through much of the downtown, leveling eight city blocks. The city council responded to the conflagration with an ordinance that made it illegal to replace a burned building with a wooden structure. Though Thomas Brown's City Hotel emerged unscathed from the blaze, several of the capital's taverns were destroyed. Under the new ordinance, rebuilding with brick or stone was a costly option. The owner of a billiard hall opposite capitol square managed to save his pool table before flames consumed his tavern. "One of the best billiard tables ever in this territory for sale," he advertised in the *Star of Florida* before closing his business.[20] The fire, which many locals believed to be arson, helped contribute to the gentrification process. A series of ordinances passed by Intendant Eppes and the city council also altered tavern life and made running a licensed public house less profitable. The efforts of the Tallahassee city council were echoed in the first sessions of the new state's legislature. Statewide laws cracked down on disorderly houses and enforcement of the new laws began to clutter county court dockets.[21]

Legislation aimed at regulating the liquor traffic was not new. As discussed in the previous chapter, taxes on retailers began in 1822 and gradually increased through the 1830s. When the temperance cause gained ground in the 1840s, the licensing laws faced scrutiny over their effectiveness. Since 1829, territorial law had defined tavern keepers as individuals who sold liquor in quantities less than one quart and charged ten dollars for an annual license. When Florida achieved statehood in 1845, this fee increased to thirty dollars, and the following year the general assembly defined a liquor retailer as anyone who sold spirituous liquor where "it would be drunk where sold." Despite the heavier restrictions, the assembly did not tax merchants who sold liquor not consumed on

the premises.[22] The new measures clearly targeted public drinking and tavern keepers. Elite commission merchants selling large quantities of alcohol to plantations were exempt from liquor taxation.

In ratcheting up licensing requirements, specifically making tavern licenses more expensive, Florida mirrored a trend elsewhere in the early republic. This temperance tactic was known as "high license." The intent was to drive grog shops out of business and leave only "respectable" businesses behind. Another form of high license that Florida never enacted was to require that alcohol could only be purchased in quantities greater than fifteen gallons. Massachusetts implemented this law, which reformers hoped would make taverns prohibitively expensive. Taverns and tipplers made this law ineffective by creative bookkeeping. A customer would order fifteen gallons and ask to be served a succession of drams out of his large order. After finishing the drinks, the customer would announce that he no longer wished to purchase the remainder of the fifteen gallons and would only pay for what he had consumed. When high license proved a disappointment, some New England states moved to no license campaigns on the county level that were intended to eliminate taverns altogether by not issuing any licenses. Creative barrooms skirted these laws too, however. In a famous act of defiance, one tavern charged admission to witness a supposed freak of nature, a striped pig. Tipplers strode in, paid a fee to see the crudely hand-painted swine, and received a free drink. With no license so easily defied, reformers moved toward a more radical solution, prohibiting the sale and manufacture of alcohol statewide.[23]

Yet Florida, like the other slave states, did not enact legal suasion beyond high license measures. Throughout Middle Florida, however, the state licensing system did little to satisfy reformers. The Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, a Whig organ, continued to publish temperance tracts and poems throughout the 1840s and into the 1850s. In 1852, editor Joseph Clisby published a letter written by a frustrated Tallahassee reformer who argued that licensing did little to curb the number of grog shops and public houses. "[T]hese most pestiferous and dangerous abodes of depression and oppression," the writer argued, drained local treasuries, which were forced to pay for prosecuting liquor-induced crimes. As a remedy, the writer suggested adopting local option. "[L]et the people say for themselves, if they are still willing to pay high taxes to foster and support these dealers in death and destruction. Let the people

in each justice's district in each County say for themselves, if they want grog shops in their district; and if the majority want them, and not until then, will we tamely submit to contribute to their support."[24]

Despite the criticism leveled at the licensing system, it nevertheless had the effect of reducing the number of liquor retailers appearing on county tax rolls in early statehood. In Franklin County, for example, the number of taverns and liquor retailers dropped from seven taverns and twenty-three retailers in 1846 to four taverns and no retailers in 1852. (Since state law defined liquor retailers as "anyone who sold any amount of spirituous liquor where it could be drunk where sold," taverns were distinguished from retailers on statehood-era tax rolls as being located within a town.)[25] Similarly, the number of licenses issued in Key West also dropped precipitously. The number of retailers grew steadily until 1848, when seventeen retailers paid for licenses. Yet in 1849 and every year afterward, Monroe County officials collected no licensing fees at all. Court records indicate that the crackdown on unlicensed houses was inconsistent. Key West's Monroe County had relatively few cases against unlicensed publicans (eight cases and five guilty verdicts). Meanwhile Middle Florida's Leon County had a far higher number of cases and convictions: thirty-eight and sixteen respectively.[26] Nevertheless, the indignation of reformers suggests that many houses continued to operate without paying an annual fee to do so.

By 1852, the popularity of local option began to swell. That fall, grand juries in Jefferson and Madison counties both supported county-level dry referendums. The Jefferson County body recommended that Florida's legislature "repeal all license laws on this subject, and leave to the several Counties and districts within the Counties, the question of retailing or not."[27] Following this lead, Jefferson County Senator E. E. Blackburn introduced a bill in the Senate to "change and modify the systems of licensing Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, and give the power to the legal voters in each of the magistrate's districts."[28] Methods of legal suasion had been discouraged a decade earlier, but by the 1850s, local option emerged as a real possibility in Florida.

The growing appeal of legal suasion reflected temperance measures nationally. As in Florida, early reformers believed temperance was a moral issue and held that legislation would be a gateway to despotism. Throughout the 1830s, however, supporters of legislative action strengthened and threatened to divide national organizations such as

the American Temperance Union. Legislative action became reality by the 1840s in some locales, with Maine leading the nation. Spearheaded by Neal Dow, Maine temperance forces campaigned to prohibit the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors in the state. In 1851, the Maine legislature passed the Maine Liquor Law with stringent enforcement provisions to establish the entire state as a dry haven. Nine other states and two territories followed suit by 1855. Other state legislatures adopted no license (local option), and in the early 1850s Florida seemed poised to embrace legal suasion as well.[29]

The temperance cause received ample support from both Democratic and Whig newspapers at mid-century. For example, in Tallahassee, the Whig *Florida Sentinel* and the Democratic *Floridian and Journal* praised the movement's resurgence in the late 1840s.[30] Whether or not to support legal suasion, however, fractured the movement's political support. Furthermore, the issue did not divide cleanly along partisan lines. The Democratic press generally accepted the failure of local option, while the *Florida Sentinel* scathingly criticized the House for voting down the measure.[31] Still, it was a senator from a Democratic stronghold, E. E. Blackburn of Jefferson County, who initially proposed the bill. A Democrat governor, James Broome, showed support for local option in his address to the legislature in 1854.[32] The lack of clear partisan support on the issue was probably not perplexing to voters. Party lines in antebellum Florida were fluid and a better explanation of political behavior was often the politician's nativity. Since nearly all of Florida's electorate had been born elsewhere, individuals and families still maintained close ties with their native states.[33] Whether or not a solon and his constituency hailed from the upper South or lower South, for example, could matter more than political affiliation. Whigs typically hailed from Virginia or North Carolina, while Democrats were typically South Carolinians or Georgians.[34] The rise of the South Carolina school in Florida politics would not be a great benefit to temperance. Most temperance advocates in the Palmetto State had to resign themselves to accepting partial abstinence pledges. South Carolinians, specifically elites, were willing to abstain from distilled spirits, but not fermented libations, particularly their beloved Madeira and Bordeaux wine.[35]

At the 1852 session of Florida's General Assembly, Blackburn's local option bill sailed through the Senate Judiciary Committee and then received a thirteen to two endorsement from the Senate itself. The

House, however, soundly rejected the bill by a twenty-two to eight vote. As a consolation to temperance supporters, the legislature revamped the licensing laws. The cost of an annual license skyrocketed to two hundred dollars. The penalty for operating without a license was a five hundred dollar fine. Even so, the new law only taxed individuals who sold quantities less than one quart. This loophole would be the basis of criticism of Florida's licensing system. Reformers declared that licenses must apply to all retailers of liquor, regardless of quantity, or else local option as a remedy needed to be revisited. Due to the loophole, a Senate report claimed, general stores became de facto grog shops as crowds gathered "in the back rooms of stores, or other similar places to drink quarts or other large quantities of liquors."[36] In other words, the one-quart law proved to be no temperance law at all. Patrons could take turns purchasing quarts, which could be passed around the room. The one-quart law only facilitated the early American tradition of treating.[37]

Reformers pushed to amend the licensing system in 1853 but failed. Governor James Broome endorsed local option in his address to the assembly in 1854. If such measures were still not palatable, he argued, then at least close the licensing loophole and "embrace all those selling intoxicating liquors, without reference to the quantity."[38] Unfortunately for Broome and temperance forces, the Florida legislature actually moved closer to a wet agenda as the 1850s progressed. A measure to decrease the license fee failed in 1856, but later passed in 1859 when the General Assembly lowered the tax from two hundred dollars to one hundred dollars a year. Also that year, it became legal to consume any quantity of alcohol – whether less than or greater than one quart – where it was sold. Previously in 1858, the legislature amended the penalty on operating an unlicensed house. Rather than a mandatory five hundred dollar fine, a minimum fifty dollar penalty became the law and left the amount to the discretion of local magistrates.[39]

Though support for local option dimmed and the licensing system increasingly alienated the temperance cause, legal suasion was not abandoned. The legislature banned alcohol sales to free blacks and mulattos in 1854 – an extension of the 1834 territorial law that prohibited sales to slaves. Still, the temperance cause struggled in the mid-1850s. The movement's decline can be explained partly by shifting institution support and changing demographics. First, the collapse of the Whig Party – an important supporter since the organization's inception in the early

1840s – was a blow to temperance. Second, the state's dominant temperance organization, the Sons of Temperance, floundered at mid-decade before enjoying a brief resurgence on the eve of secession. Lastly, the population of the state continued to grow with particularly high immigration from South Carolina and Georgia – a shift that affected partisan politics. To assess properly the evolution of Florida's antebellum temperance movement, the development of these changes must be explored.

Though Florida's Whig newspapers (most notably Tallahassee's *Florida Sentinel*) continued to endorse temperance, societies did not fulfill the promise of holding annual conventions throughout the 1840s. Washingtonian societies in Florida struggled as the national movement suffered from poor organization. The very appeal of the Washingtonian sensation – emotional conversions to the teetotal lifestyle – also proved to be the group's weakness, as the enthusiasm was difficult to sustain. One reformer decried, "The Washington Reform of '42, for a time bore down everything save moral suasion: it alone, like the war cry, 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' was to scatter the foe and give victory even to the trembling drunkard! But this was like a tornado, impetuous and overwhelming in its fury: it soon passed and we were left more in sorrow than in anger, that it had promised so much and had accomplished so little of permanent good."[40] Yet, a new organization, the Sons of Temperance, emerged as the Washingtonian sensation dissipated. Founded in New York City on September 29, 1842, the Sons established dues, detailed bylaws, and a hierarchical framework to link local chapters with state and national divisions. The Washingtonians had marginalized female participation, and in some ways the Sons of Temperance were even more exclusive. The Sons gathered in undisclosed locations, and they whispered passwords and palmed secret grips for entry to meetings. Their public demonstrations maintained the martial bravado that the Washingtonians had also prized. Popular traditions such as cold water barbecues, parades, and martial regalia lived on. But unlike the Washingtonians, the Sons had support from a well-organized body that established a clear hierarchy between local, state, and national divisions. Membership waxed and waned, but Floridian chapters remained organized to the eve of secession.

The Washingtonian sensation had reached Florida within months of the movement's founding, but the Sons of Temperance, which had more stringent guidelines for associate divisions, took five years to get

established in the state. After the delay, however, the group spread rapidly. In 1847, George O. McMullin of Tallahassee announced in the *Floridian* that he had been empowered by the national division of the Sons of Temperance "in the organization of Subordinate Divisions . . . and their proper constitutional and government." Divisions and overall membership swelled rapidly, and in 1848, the Sons of Temperance had established a state body, the Grand Division of Florida. By 1851, the Sons reached their zenith in Florida with 34 divisions and a total of 755 members.[41]

The Sons were better organized than the Washingtonians, but still employed similar traditions to recruit new members. The Washingtonians had held cold water barbecues in conjunction with Fourth of July celebrations, and the Sons also held dry events to pacify what was typically a raucous and intemperate day. At one such event in Marianna, members of the brotherhood published a speech given by Samuel C. Bellamy. A local physician, Bellamy connected the order's cherished principles – purity, fidelity, and love – with lessons from the American Revolution. "Purity," he declared, "is strikingly exemplified in the many unsuccessful attempts which were made to bribe [the Revolutionary generation] to swerve from their duty. . . . Their Fidelity is shown in the astonishing fact, that through the long and doubtful contest of seven years, but one solitary instance of treachery was to be found." Finally, he argued, "their Love to the cause and to one another is shown . . . in the establishment of the Order of Cincinnati, after the contest was over, with Washington at its head, to cherish and keep alive a brotherly feeling and the zeal and faith with which they clung to it, in defiance of all the prating slander and attempted ridicule of the miserable demagogues of the day."[42]

The members prized the speech not for its emotional power, but for its reason and erudition.[43] Bellamy concluded that the nation would soon crumble if it could not cure its intemperate ways. Like Simon Peter Richardson, Bellamy espoused the belief that alcohol and the liquor traffic had a dangerous power. "You are engaged in a war with a wily and subtle foe," he warned, "the more dangerous because he attacks with a deceitful and hypocritical smile under the luring guise of friendship." To illustrate his point Bellamy described Alexander the Great's sad demise. "That renowned General of antiquity . . . who is said to have wept on the shores of the Indian Ocean that there were no more worlds

for him to conquer, was at last conquered by this fell destroyer; and after murdering one of his best friends in a drunken broil, died at the age of thirty-three, a victim of intemperance."[44] Referencing "great men" of the past, Bellamy's jeremiad targeted Florida's leaders of the mid-nineteenth century. The very survival of the republic was at stake, he argued, and if intemperance continued to stalk the land, the United States would collapse. Bellamy insisted that young men needed to join the Sons of Temperance before succumbing to the temptations of tavern life. Still, the dire political predictions that Bellamy advanced also built a case for going beyond moral suasion – even if the speaker himself did not extend his argument that far. Not surprisingly, legal suasion and local option became popular positions in the early 1850s.

The Sons did not allow women to attend their meetings – a courtesy that even the Washingtonians had allowed. Yet in some respects women went beyond making banners and flags as they had done for the Washingtonians as the Sons invited women to speak at some of their public demonstrations in Florida.[45] On the Fourth of July 1848, a young woman assumed an important role in a celebration organized by Quincy's Olive Branch Division of the Sons of Temperance. "Miss Hubbard," likely a relative or daughter of one of the Sons, presented a banner to the order and delivered a speech outside the Methodist church. Tallahassee's *Florida Sentinel* noted that "her address was very appropriate, distinctly enunciated and delivered with dignity and self-possession."[46] At a summer temperance barbecue on Lake Miccosukee in 1851 a "Miss Partridge," possibly the daughter of Reverend John Partridge of nearby Monticello, presented a banner and "offered an appropriate address," according to the *Florida Sentinel*, "on behalf of the ladies of the Lake."[47]

Meanwhile on the national level, the Sons grappled with the issue of female membership. As with the rallies in Quincy and Lake Miccosukee, women were encouraged to participate in public celebrations, but entry into meetings remained verboten. By the mid-1850s, however, the national division debated the merits of allowing "lady visitors" to attend meetings as well as whether or not to allow women to attain membership. By 1856, the order allowed local chapters to determine whether women could sit in on deliberations, but membership was not extended. Though national records do not reveal which of Florida's divisions allowed women to attend their proceedings, eight out of the state's eleven remaining chapters reporting in 1856 allowed "lady visitors."[48]

Concomitant with these developments, Florida's Sons of Temperance began to decline rapidly. In Florida, 671 contributing members dropped to 150 between 1856 and 1857.[49] Several factors may explain the Sons' decline in the mid-1850s. First, the racial motivations behind reform had been satisfied by the passage of the 1854 law banning sales to all blacks. Second, the collapse of the two-party system left state politics disorganized, and the support that Whig newspapers had given to the movement slowly disappeared. Many local divisions ceased to be, including Leon County's division.[50]

Nationally the temperance movement suffered setbacks in the late 1850s as statewide prohibition proved difficult to enforce. Court cases involving the legality of search and seizure provisions within the Maine Laws rendered prohibition toothless in New York and Massachusetts. Other court cases hamstrung enforcement in Indiana, Michigan, and Minnesota. Even in Maine, Neal Dow dealt with an angry mob incensed at the hypocrisy of the prohibitionist's administration. As mayor of Portland, Dow managed and profited from the dispensary of medicinal and industrial liquor. The group demanded to enter the dispensary under the guise of the state's own search and seizure law and destroy the liquor. The primary motive of the group of course was to embarrass Dow and protest his prohibitionist leadership. When individuals began to break into the building, Dow ordered local guards to fire on the crowd. Dow later expressed no regret for ordering the volley, which killed one and injured seven, because the group had been predominantly Irish. The tragic debacle proved the undoing of the state's prohibition law. Riots in New York and Chicago also embarrassed the dry campaign and demonstrated that prohibition could produce more violence than it prevented.[51]

As Middle Florida's Sons of Temperance waxed and waned in the 1840s and 1850s, taverns and inns underwent their own changes. Generally speaking, these establishments in the territorial period had offered few amenities. Class distinctions among competing businesses were not obvious, and visitors regarded all territorial restaurants and coffeehouses as third-rate at best. Even Tallahassee's most respected territorial-era oyster bar and coffeehouse, the Exchange, was derided as seedy by visiting newspaper correspondents.[52] European travelers Latrobe and Castelnau complained of dilapidated housing and soggy beds in their visits to the territory.[53] As mentioned earlier, another traveler protested the bold and undeferential behavior of Port Leon's "ruff scuff" population

after a man stared him down for refusing an offer to drink.[54] So while planters and yeomen had disparate holdings in land and slaves, public drinking was generally democratic, if violent and intemperate during the territorial period. Yet concomitant with statehood (Florida entered the Union as the twenty-seventh state in 1845) there emerged a number of establishments that catered to an elite clientele. Likewise, the campaign against disorderly houses, a tangible result of the temperance movement, disproportionately targeted lower-income grog shops.[55]

The gentrification of hotels and taverns, coming to fruition in the 1840s and 1850s, was clearly desired by many early residents. Elite immigrants from older slave states migrated to Middle Florida with the intention of remaking the social order of Virginia and the Carolinas. Wealthy families brought heirloom furniture and were ever conscious of social status based on familial connections and reputation. O. T. Hammond, a new immigrant to Middle Florida in 1838, described the frontier transition: "A stranger is astonished at the incongruity he sees. A poor old crazy log hut is often splendidly furnished; pianos; sofas; mahogany tables; rich side-boards; turky carpets; cut glass." Proclivities for ostentation were ever on display, he wrote, as "the fair are clad in rustling silk, gold watches, gold pencils, gold cissors [sic], gold quizzing glasses, & gold spectacles; nor will we see the much want of splendor in the equipage gilt carriages, fine horses, servants in the livery; so much show."[56] The earliest hotels and taverns did not meet the high standards of elite travelers, but by the 1840s and 1850s, hostelries began to offer higher-end accommodations, entertainment, and libations.

Thomas Brown personified the transformation. Natives of Virginia, Brown and his family were among the first wave of U.S. settlers to the territory. Brown had success as a planter in Virginia, but he hoped to improve his family's fortunes in the expanding frontier with a large Middle Florida sugar plantation. In 1827, Brown traveled from Virginia at a leisurely pace and in grand style. Brown and his entourage made their way to Florida, where he clearly did not intend to suffer deprivations:

> I left two or three old negroes to take care of the building, and in true Arab style, with my family and tents I left Virginia Nov. 1, 1827. My caravan consisted of my wife, six children, twenty odd young men, 144 negroes, 5 horse-wagons, two carryalls and my family carriage and five saddle horses.

> Musicians we had in abundance among the young men on the violin, flute clarionet [sic], fife, etc. . . . We had large commodious tents, marquees and camp fixtures. I had a quartermaster, paymaster, and foraging party, who every day went ahead to procure fresh supplies and to select the camping grounds, pitch the tents, make the fires and begin the cooking before the main body got up. We traveled slowly, from 15 to 20 miles a day and stopped at convenient places to wash and rest, never slept in a house during the journey of about 60 days. . . . We arrived at Lake Jackson on the 8th January 1828, where there was only but one cabin built and my people lived in tents until we built houses, and we were more healthy and comfortable than our neighbors.[57]

Yet hard winter freezes devastated Brown's sugar operations, and he changed plans. "From the manner I saw negroes treated and particularly fed on the plantations at that time," he later noted, "I would not hire any of my negroes out." Instead, Brown rented the Planter's Hotel in Tallahassee for three years and put his slaves to work running the business. He hired two white men, John W. Reeves and A. A. Fisher, to serve as managers. Built by William Wyatt, the Planter's had already acquired a reputation as a center of political life as it served as the temporary home of legislators, visiting federal officials, and foreign visitors. The hostelry sat on the northeast corner of capitol square. Frontier exigencies initially necessitated rough accommodations, but Brown had big plans. Within several years, he purchased a city block that included Colonel Pindar's Florida Hotel, which along with Josiah Everett's Eagle Tavern and J. R. Betton's Washington Hall, was one of the capital's earliest hostelries. Pindar's also faced the capitol, but from the south side on the square. Brown soon expanded the old Florida, renamed it the City Hotel, and refurbished it with elite families in mind. By the early 1840s, the hotel offered private suites, parlors, and sitting rooms. Brown's hotel soon became the premier establishment in Middle Florida and hub of the young state's political culture.[58]

In conjunction with his hotel, Brown opened a horse track and coordinated a seasonal slate of races that drew visitors to the capital. Brown's tavern and racetrack profited in the 1830s, but also acquired a reputation for fostering intemperance, vice, and immorality. Then the Second Seminole War interrupted the races and personal financial woes cramped Brown. As cashier of the doomed Union Bank, the planter-hotelier suf-

fered reduced fortunes after the Panic of 1837. Brown reinvented himself as a Whig politician, the member of an emerging party whose newspapers endorsed temperance, and eventually was elected governor in 1848, serving one term. Belonging to a party whose newspapers endorsed a movement opposed to the Virginian's very livelihood was not as odd as it may seem in hindsight. Florida's Whig Party, like the party nationally, was an alliance whose central concern was internal improvements. Florida Whigs were more likely than Democrats to be large land and slave owners who desired better roads and river improvements to benefit their cotton plantations. Furthermore, by the time Brown reached the governor's office, the Democrats and not the Whigs had become the leaders in pushing for legal suasion.

As Middle Florida lost its reputation as a rough and tumble haven for rogues, places like the City Hotel and the Tallahassee racetrack quieted as well. Brown's hotel no longer hosted wild events such as the 1833 "anti-temperance meeting" and gradually began to court the business of wealthy Floridians and travelers with more expensive accommodations and services. Likewise, the racetrack, which had brought hundreds of spectators from a broad economic stratum, dissipated in the wake of more strongly enforced gambling laws. Ring and lance tournaments eventually replaced the races as popular winter-month entertainment, but these events were clearly held for and by Middle Florida's wealthiest citizens.[59]

In Apalachicola, a similar transformation was under way. The first generation of hostelries gave way to new establishments offering elite amenities in the 1840s and 1850s. Apalachicola's Sans Souci Hotel epitomized the change. The hotel's name, literally "without concern" in French, advertised imported French and Madeira wines, Havana "segars," and epicurean dining.[60] The hotel catered to the peripatetic lives of Apalachicola's merchant class. Though some factors maintained year-round residences in the port, such as David Raney and Thomas Orman, many others remained in the town only in the shipping, or winter, months. Individuals and families who could afford to remove to cooler climes during the pestilential and oppressive summer months most certainly did. Because many of Apalachicola's merchant class hailed from northern states and represented a notable portion of Apalachicola's business elite, this arrangement made all the more sense. Most of the northerners came from New York, but others arrived from

Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.[61] Even the Apalachicola Land Company officials, who developed the town in the 1830s, maintained their offices in New York.[62]

The gentrification of the port's hotels reflected growing class distinctions in Apalachicola's churches. Originally the town had only one church edifice, owned by Trinity Episcopal Church. Members of other denominations had offered monetary support through pew subscriptions and in return had been able to use the building for their own services. Under Rector A. Bloomer Hart in 1841, however, Trinity began refusing other denominations access to its sanctuary. Benefactors from other denominations "who indulged in the erroneous supposition that the church might be used for celebrating secular solemnities and for the ministration of sectarian preachers," Hart declared, were sorely mistaken.[63] Methodists in the town had to meet in one another's houses until they constructed their own edifice in 1844. Sore feelings lingered for years afterward. Advertising the completion of the church, the Methodists announced in the *Commercial Advertiser* that "there is nothing exclusive about the Methodists in their form of worship."[64] Four years later, an "authorized agent" of the Methodist church wrote to the paper claiming that "It will be born of mind that we, as a sect, for what we consider good reasons, never build a *pewed* church."[65] As the Methodist writer observed, religious culture, like drinking culture, had become more stratified over time.

Florida's reputation as a wild and inebriate frontier also subsided by the 1850s. Horace Dodd, a Vermont native and a warehouse clerk for Apalachicola commission merchants Nourse and Brooks, described the town in much less raucous terms than his counterpart John Chrystie had in the late 1830s. In letters to his sweetheart Emma Guild, who lived in Bangor, Maine, Dodd painted a quaint picture of the cotton port. "So I don't play billiards this Winter," he wrote Emma, "I might stop and give you the idea that I was getting good and thought it wrong . . . so I'll be honest and tell you that we have got no billiard saloon so I can't."[66] A decade earlier, Apalachicola had as many as two billiard halls, nine "ten pin" alleys, and eight taverns. By the early 1850s, billiard halls and ten pin alleys had disappeared from the tax rolls and the number of taverns had been reduced to four. Between 1857 and 1860, tavern keepers disappeared from tax rolls altogether, seemingly replaced by the town's hotels.[67]

With such limited options, Dodd's entertainment consisted of boating on the Apalachicola River and Bay and forming a glee club. "I am going to have to learn to play on my flute," he told his sweetheart. Still, the young clerk revealed in his letters that he was no teetotaler and that Emma had reservations about his ability to handle alcohol – perhaps not surprising for a young woman who lived in the dry state of Maine. "It seems to me you give me credit for very little self control when you say you know I can not smoke or drink moderately – for I think I can," he complained.[68] The Apalachicola social events Dodd described did not occur in taverns or hotels, but rather out on the water. "Bostwick and I started the other morning at six and rowed some six or eight miles before breakfast and one evening last week seven of us took a big boat and a violin and guitar and were out till Eleven o'clock singing and getting aground and otherwise enjoying ourselves." In early April 1860, Dodd wrote to Emma about the biggest party of the year:

> The great affair of the season came off a week ago tonight. We i.e. the juvenile part of Apalach had an excursion. The Captain of the "Nan" a big boat put in at our disposal for the night and we started at eight intending to come back at one but we didn't –. Went up twenty miles got caught in a fog and returned at 7 o'clock the following morning – However that didn't make any difference – they danced all night and I who don't dance here (last time I danced was with you) sat and talked and looked on. Had a splendid Supper – turkey and every thing of that kind including champaigne [sic]. Every one told me that I was the freshest looking one on board the boat the next morning – but you would have laughed had you seen them all by the first morning light. You know or perhaps you don't know, that it is particularly hard on the complexions. Especially when those complexions have sat up all night and haven't washed their faces . . . I only slept fifteen minutes as a lady wanted a coil of rope I was coiled up on and I gave it up.[69]

Though the evening lasted longer than Dodd had anticipated, the event was benign enough that he did not hesitate to tell his sweetheart about it. As he had already referenced her clucking disapproval of his drinking, he would not have likely shared this story about the "great affair of the season" if it had been a wildly intemperate celebration. Compared to the Apalachicola that John Chrystie described in the 1830s, in which black eyes and bloody noses capped an evening of entertainment, social life had become relatively tame. Even though temperance organizations

now struggled compared to earlier years, Dodd could attest that the reforms and licensing that reformers had lobbied for had helped settle public life in Florida.

In Tallahassee, which like Apalachicola was losing its frontier roughness in the 1850s, hotels offered top-shelf intoxicants to an increasingly discriminating clientele. Travelers no longer had to suffer the deprivations of shoddy taverns. In early August 1858, C. W. Fisher continued an early statehood trend when he purchased the Planter's Hotel and immediately invested $428.97 in new tables, chairs, looking glasses, and silverware to refit his establishment in a manner more acceptable to elite travelers. Many names in his register that winter were professionals and politicians, including Colonel A. C. Blount, Judge John Chaires, and Dr. B. W. Saxon. In the short term the investment appeared to pay off: on the night of August 26 alone, Fisher sold 5 bottles of champagne for a total of $12.50—a much pricier sum compared to the $.27 per gallon for inexpensive whiskey available at nearby grog shops.[70] That winter, Fisher regularly had 18 to 20 guests paying $1.50 per night.[71]

Consumption of other psychoactive substances evolved in the 1840s and 1850s as well. As discussed in the previous chapter, Middle Floridians had over-the-counter access to narcotics in the early 1830s. Tempered consumption of alcohol apparently did not reduce consumption of other psychoactive substances though. Tobacco continued to be chewed, dipped, and smoked without any objections from reformers. Cigars, pipes, snuff, and chewing tobacco regularly filled the shelves of area merchants. Patent medicines, including powerful narcotics and aphrodisiacs, were bought and sold without alarm. Reformers waged a war on alcohol in the antebellum period, but opium and the opiate derivatives laudanum, paregoric, and morphine (including syringes for injection) could be purchased without prescription or government regulation.

In Apalachicola, Benjamin Hawley supplied the local population as well as the upriver market with narcotics. A native of Connecticut, Hawley began operating as a commission merchant as early as 1836, and over the next decade he continually expanded his stock—albeit in the face of periodic setbacks. In 1844, a fire that began in Hawley's warehouse destroyed its entire contents with the exception of one fire-proof book safe. An article in the Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser* described the conflagration that was accelerated by warehoused liquor and spread to several neighboring buildings: "Some of the alcohol, and other liquors

in the burning buildings found its way through the sewers, leading to the river, in a state of combustion, presenting the awful spectacle of a sheet of water on fire." If the sight of burning alcohol struck Apalachicolans as a sign of providential displeasure and provided fodder for the local Washingtonians, the writer did not say so.[72]

Hawley's losses in 1844 proved to be a gain for historians and archaeologists. A recent excavation at the Hawley store site has uncovered a snapshot of the warehouse's contents at the time of the fire, which was a veritable pharmacopeia. Apothecary jars and bottles dated to the 1844 fire confirm that Hawley's extensive advertisements for narcotics and other patent medicines in the *Commercial Advertiser* accurately reflected what he had in stock. Also revealing were Hawley's stock of nonalcoholic beverages. Apalachicola merchants continued to stock liquor, wine, porter, and ale, but by the 1840s began to stock a limited supply of New York mineral water, ginger beer, and sarsaparilla. Sources of safe, nonalcoholic drinks were important to sustain a more temperate society. Unsafe drinking water had motivated Americans to consume fermented or distilled beverages since the seventeenth century. Hippocratic medicine had also discouraged the consumption of water based on the theory that it made the body phlegmatic and susceptible to colds. One of the obstacles to temperance was a lack of nonalcoholic and healthy (or at least consistent with Hippocratic theory) alternatives. "Soft" drinks like sarsaparilla and ginger beer were one solution. Mineral water was another. Though it would not be until the turn of the century that these nonalcoholic beverages would be abundant and inexpensive, Hawley's limited stock revealed an expanding menu for liquid consumption.[73]

Based on excavations on the Hawley and other sites within the Apalachicola riverfront district and newspaper advertisements, tobacco was possibly the most popular inebriant before the Civil War. Smoking articles, including decorative and commemorative pipe bowls, were plentiful. Hotel bars frequently advertised their selections of the finest Havana "segars" to accompany their full stock of wines and liquors. Smoking articles and expensive cigars provided symbols of status and personality. Based on archaeological evidence, one of the most common decorations on pipe bowls was a smiling monkey. Others featured the face of a mustached and turbaned man. Some pipe bowls functioned as political paraphernalia and provided the smoker a symbol of party affiliation. Supporters of Zachary Taylor, for example, could use a commemorative

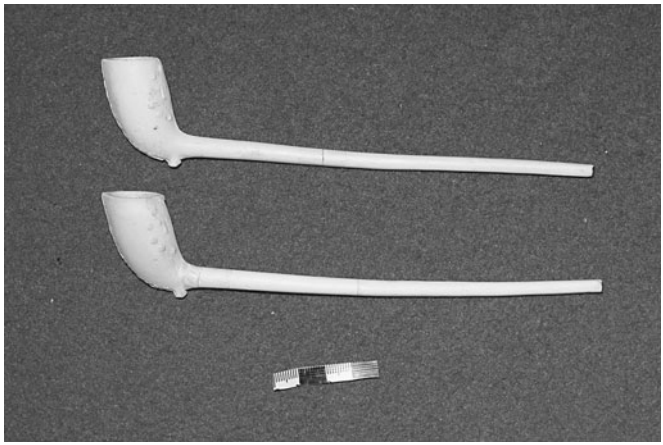

Figure 6. Two of hundreds of kaolin clay pipes found at the site of an 1840s commission merchant warehouse in Apalachicola. Collection of Dr. Louis Hill of Tallahassee. Photograph by Pierson Hill.

"Rough and Ready" pipe. Decorative pipes could be expensive, however, and most Apalachicolans likely used kaolin clay pipes, which archaeologists have found in the hundreds.

Throughout the antebellum period, class divisions in Middle Florida became more evident in public life. Furthermore, the local and statewide laws against disorderly public drinking – fruits of the early temperance movement – established an important and long-term precedent for evangelical influence on Florida politics. In the short term reform efforts made the public sphere less violent, but also less democratic in the twilight hours of Jacksonian Florida. Drinking culture became bifurcated as more exclusive and expensive hotels replaced taverns that had entertained a broader social spectrum. Over time, the democratic access to political discourse so apparent in the territorial-era taverns necessarily subsided.

The temperance movement had temporarily cooled in the mid-1850s, and, as reformers like Simon Peter Richardson found, many people remained openly hostile to the movement. Opposition to local option and statewide prohibition, however, should not obscure the dramatic transformation of Middle Florida drinking culture in the 1840s and 1850s. The types of drinking establishments had become much more stratified, and visitors to the young state no longer complained of an

unsettling lack of hierarchy. As drinking and public life became more complex, the menu of psychoactive substances continued to expand. Substances that would later be regarded as dangerous and socially destabilizing were bought and sold without alarm.

Enthusiasm for further temperance legislation also waned in the mid-1850s, and many Sons of Temperance divisions declined or became defunct. Even so, an active division met regularly in Monticello, county seat of Jefferson, where embers of the movement in Middle Florida burned brightest. F. R. Fildes, editor of Monticello's newspaper *The Family Friend* and a loyal Son of Temperance, provided the Sons ample coverage. In 1859, Monticello merchant J. B. Collins became the first Floridian to attend a meeting of the national division, and the national officers held out hope that the state's temperance cause would continue to strengthen. In fact, from a numerical standpoint, Florida's Sons were at their greatest strength at decade's end. Despite their struggle at mid-decade, when numbers dwindled, the group grew from 577 members in 1850 to 1,039 in 1860, an increase of 44 percent.[74] The Sons' growth also out-stepped the state's overall population increase, which expanded 38 percent, from 87,445 to 140,424, in the same span.[75]

But these figures are anomalies, for the number of divisions in the rest of the state dropped markedly. The Sons had twenty-five divisions in 1850 and only ten in 1860. Politically influential Leon, Gadsden, and Jackson counties, which had been home to active societies a decade earlier, had no divisions on the eve of secession. Where the group did hold regular meetings they offered companionship for fellow teetotalers, but statewide the dry campaign lacked political clout. The possibility for a local option law, much less statewide prohibition, still appeared dim. After intense discussion for such measures earlier in the decade, the issue received scant attention from the legislative assembly in the late 1850s.

Yet the General Assembly's commitment to total racial prohibition in 1854 meant the movement remained relevant. Prohibiting slaves and free blacks from purchasing alcohol strengthened white supremacy. Public spaces where whites gathered to drink became more stratified along class lines, but access to alcohol was a right that all whites shared. If whites were unified under the banner of racial prohibition, gender remained a contested issue in the declining movement. In 1859, eight divisions accepted "lady visitors" at chapter proceedings, but the

following year only three divisions allowed women to attend. Unlike earlier in the decade, when women had assumed speaking roles at rallies, no such violations of separate spheres appear to have occurred in the late 1850s or early 1860s. Women were reduced to trying to exert influence on their family members. Ellen Call Long, daughter of Governor Richard Keith Call, urged her son Richard to "not be annoyed by such paltry ambitions as to cut a figure in society, the meaning of which is driving fast horses, drinking wine, fine dressing and an idle waste of time, which only makes you a fashionable fool."[76] Despite Long's plea for a temperate lifestyle, a mother's influence did not help advance women's influence within the public sphere.

In 1861, prohibition in Florida seemed an unlikely possibility. The leading temperance organization, the Sons of Temperance, was active in scattered – and less politically influential – locales outside of Middle Florida. Popular sentiment appeared to be satisfied with the status quo. Elites, many of whom had embraced temperance enthusiastically in the early 1840s, on the whole did not support the movement by the late 1850s. Nevertheless, temperance reform had markedly affected the state's political culture throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Unintentionally, the campaign against taverns and grog shops had helped gentrify drinking culture and altered the democratic nature of public life. Prohibition for slaves and free blacks soothed this potential social wound and strengthened white supremacy by forging a bond between whites of all social ranks. Yeoman and planter alike shared the privilege of the drink even though establishments became more socially stratified along class lines.

3 "Drinking and gamboling"

Alcohol, Temperance, and the Civil War

The Civil War and Reconstruction rendered Middle Florida's religious and political culture almost unrecognizable to its antebellum past. The ruling planter aristocracy lost its primary source of political and social capital, enslaved people, and the theological justifications for their political and military courses of action proved a catastrophic miscalculation. Even so, the physical ravages of war spared Tallahassee, and Middle Florida did not suffer physical destruction on par with Virginia and Tennessee. Only two battles occurred in the region, at Natural Bridge in Leon County and at Marianna in Jackson County, and they were mere skirmishes in comparison to the cataclysmic melees of the upper South. Confederate Tallahassee surrendered to a small detachment of Union cavalry on May 11, 1865. Compared to the triumphant and boisterous secession celebrations four years earlier, Reconstruction in Florida began with relatively quiet submission to Union authority. According to General Edwin McCook, commander of the U.S. forces that captured the city, civil officials accepted surrender with "cheerful acquiescence."[1]

While the temperance movement had helped settle Florida's rowdy and intemperate frontier ways by the 1850s, the mustering of the

Confederate army worked to reverse these gains. Young men from throughout Middle Florida joined regiments to fight for the cause and, as young men are wont to do, they consumed alcohol as an antidote to the ennui of camp life. Troops found liquor, if not of great quality, readily available. Most regiments received liquor as part of their rations, which was consistent with commissary tradition in American military history.[2] The "invisible hand" guided sutlers to encampments, where a ready market for intoxicants awaited them. Given these circumstances, drunken disorder became a significant problem in the ranks from the war's beginning. During the slow months following the First Battle of Bull Run, Confederate troops drank excessively to the point that one chaplain complained that drinking had become "excusable, if not necessary, in the army." Throughout the war, Confederate newspapers reported soldiers' proclivities for the drink.[3]

Temperance reformers in both the Union and the Confederacy found that the war was a major setback for their movement. By 1865, only five states retained statewide prohibition following a peak of thirteen in the 1850s. Liquor rations and drinking culture among the troops inspired some "cold water" units within the Union army. Not surprisingly, Neal Dow himself commanded such a regiment. Reformers in the North also fretted that national liquor regulation (intended to raise revenue for the United States) simultaneously taxed and legitimized distilleries and breweries. American brewers strengthened their political clout in the 1860s in the form of a national lobby, the United States Brewers Association. Reformers in the Northeast and Midwest soon became enchanted with the newly formed Republican Party. Although Abraham Lincoln had attended Washingtonian meetings in 1842 and shunned liquor personally, he had deep reservations about the coerciveness of prohibition. Furthermore, the Republican Party relied on the support of the Protestant German vote, a voting bloc not interested in restrictions on lager beer and tavern life.[4] In the South, food shortages motivated Confederate and state legislation that limited the distillation of grains, but adulterated alcohol – cut with a variety of additives – filled the void. Temperance leaders such as Simon Peter Richardson found that Middle Florida succumbed to its backslidden ways in the 1860s. The Sons of Temperance's brief resurgence in the late 1850s died during the war and would not be revived until the end of Reconstruction. As the reform spirit waned, military and civil authorities as well as chaplains

complained that drunkenness among Confederate troops hurt the war effort. In short, the Civil War complicated reformers' efforts and disrupted the move toward prohibition.

Florida soldiers remarked at how quickly army life induced spiritual lassitude. "When we first came here we were mighty good," wrote Private Daniel G. McLean of Walton. "We would read our bible twice a day & would not play cards or do anything of that sort. After a while we got to reading only once a day & then we only read at Sunday . . . now we somtimes [sic] let a Sunday pass & never read it. I have positively not played cards but four times since I came & that was when I just came but some of the rest are playing all the time."[5] Likewise in nearby Pensacola, General Braxton Bragg quickly learned that gambling's attendant vice, inebriation, had to be eradicated in the army. In December 1861, he forbade liquor sales within five miles of the city. "The evils resulting from the sale of intoxicating liquors in Pensacola have become intolerable," he wrote. Intemperance-related incidents clogged the docket of the courts-martial, Bragg complained, and liquor had been the root of sickness in camp. Tragically, liquor-induced violence had necessitated military executions. "We have lost more valuable lives at the hands of whiskey sellers," he declared, "than by the balls of our enemies."[6] Not satisfied that the prohibition ban would suffice, Bragg also raided West Florida grog shops, a maneuver he claimed would be effective, given that he confiscated a quantity of liquor that would "have kept the Army drunk two months."[7] Unfortunately for Bragg, his efforts did not succeed even in the short run. Within weeks of his prohibition order, Brigadier General Richard H. Anderson, in command during Bragg's brief absence from Pensacola on New Year's Day 1862, ordered an unwise and wasteful artillery barrage allegedly under the influence of alcohol.[8]

Private William A. Scott of West Florida found that his regiment was generally well behaved, but was easily tempted by the drink. He wrote to a friend back in Walton County that "we all seem to enjoy ourselves very much and all seems very feasible though when we got to Marianna, some of them got out a bottle of whiskey and got to drinking and gamboling." Under the influence of spirits, the soldiers' revelry that evening almost turned tragic. "William Hart and Bob Bell fell out," Scott recounted, "and Hart shot Bell but never hurt him very much."[9] Methodist itinerant Simon Peter Richardson also found intemperance common in the army, but like Bragg, he feared the problem started at the

top. Stationed in Apalachicola early in the war, the teetotaler lamented that "The general and all the field officers but myself drank."[10] Governor John Milton also agreed that liquor plagued Florida's military leadership. Milton, who during his gubernatorial tenure resided in Tallahassee's City Hotel, a hostelry not unfamiliar with drunken affairs in its turbulent history, criticized military leadership in Cedar Key. The governor wrote that the commanders there "drank to excess." Troops in Fernandina, alleged Milton, were "demoralized by the habitual intemperance of [their] Colonel and Liet.-Col."[11] In April 1862, Milton and the governor's executive council banned distilleries in Florida, but voted down a resolution to ban the sale or gift of alcohol to troops.[12] In other parts of the Confederacy, banning distillation of grain served to preserve foodstuffs for hungry troops, but that was not the issue for Milton. The executive council declared that rampant alcohol use "tends to destroy the substance of the people, to lessen our means of subsisting troops, to demoralize the community and debauch our soldiers."[13] After requests from the Confederate Medical Purveyors Office that fall, the governor allowed distilleries that produced whiskey for medicinal purposes.[14]

Throughout the Confederacy, intemperance emerged as a troubling obstacle to a coordinated war effort. The War Department issued an order early in 1862 calling officers to make drying up their camps a priority. "[Intemperance] is the cause of nearly every evil from which we suffer . . . the largest portion of our sickness and mortality results from it; our guard houses are filled by it."[15] Echoing the War Department several months later, General Joseph Finegan, commander of forces in Middle and East Florida, responded to the growing problem with order no. 17, which commanded "officers of all grades to aid him in suppressing the vice of intemperance in the army."[16] As the war dragged on, complaints of drunkenness targeted not just the Confederate army, but Union forces blockading and invading the state as well.

Most of Florida's troops spent the balance of the war away from the state, however, and saw significant action in both the western and eastern theaters of the war. Though Florida regiments were not specifically cited as problematic, intemperance plagued the armies of Tennessee and Northern Virginia. During the Peninsula Campaign in 1862, hundreds of drunken Confederate soldiers became a nuisance as they staggered along Richmond streets like "bar-room vagabonds." Soldiers also found ways to stay inebriated while bivouacked away from cities and

towns. Creative measures that troops employed included burying barrels of whiskey near watering holes and caching liquor in hollowed-out watermelons under their tent floors. In at least one instance, a parched soldier smuggled liquor into camp in the barrel of his musket. Much like Governor Milton in Florida, the War Department feared that the problem rested with tippling officers who set a poor example for their men. According to one newspaper editor, the Confederate ranks in Virginia suffered from leaders who were "both profane and hard drinkers, where they are not drunkards."[17]

By the end of 1862, however, the horrors of war and unprecedented casualties gave many soldiers a reason to question their own alcohol use. According to the white southern worldview, God had ordained secession and the birth of the Confederacy. Yet heavy casualties and the war's uncertain outcome now caused rebel soldiers to wonder if Providence had turned on them. Bacchanalian camp life, they feared, had angered the Almighty. That winter, revivals erupted in the Army of Northern Virginia and, by 1863, the spirit had spread to the Army of Tennessee in the west. Anxious soldiers turned to their chaplains for help in securing their own salvations as death had become an overwhelming part of their lives. Through spiritual rebirth and personal reform soldiers hoped to improve their conditions on earth and in the hereafter.[18]

Despite the ripe environmental factors for revivalism, a shortage of chaplains may have limited revivals among Florida troops. Several reasons explain the absence of pastoral care. Antebellum Florida had barely outgrown its frontier ways when the war began, and only a relatively small pool of ministers was available for service. The chaplaincy also offered meager pay and rations. Evangelicals like Simon Peter Richardson served briefly and then returned to their families. Most ministers lived humbly before the war; remaining a chaplain for the duration of the conflict would most likely leave their families destitute.[19] Therefore if soldiers sought ministerial guidance, they had to be willing to search. William Scott wrote that men had to walk considerable distances on occasions. "There was preaching in about four miles of this place yesturd [sic]," he wrote from Chattahoochee, Georgia. The soldiers who attended the service found "the people very clever," but not many made the eight-mile round trip.[20]

If chaplains were rare, Florida troops had access to religious tracts that circulated in the Confederate armies in astounding numbers.[21] Printed in

Table 1. Confederate chaplains in service by state

State	*Pop. of chaplains*
Alabama	64
Arkansas	32
Florida	9
Georgia	125
Louisiana	25
Mississippi	70
North Carolina	86
South Carolina	62
Tennessee	82
Texas	70
Virginia	137

Source: United States National Archives, *Civil War Service Records* [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com [February 21, 2006].

the hundreds of thousands, these pocket-sized pamphlets targeted specific evils of camp life, with intemperance, gambling, and swearing leading the list of vices.[22] Though illiteracy may have limited tracts' utility among Florida's uneducated troops, soldiers could still read the morality tales to one another in camp.[23] Frances Blake Brockenbrough's "A Mother's Parting Words to Her Soldier Boy" urged soldiers to "specially guard against drunkenness, that most insidious, prevalent and degrading vice. I would have you abstain from strong drink as you would from henbane."[24] Another popular piece that targeted the deleterious effects of alcohol, "Liquor and Lincoln," laid out the case for temperance given the dire circumstances of 1863: "No wonder that God has forsaken us when we raise the puny arm of rebellion against his authority, and proclaim, that we will not have this man, Christ Jesus, to reign over us. Nor should any one wonder to see our fields desolated during the present year by blighting droughts, when we are consuming the bountiful supplies of Providence, in past years, in 'distilled damnation,' to destroy the souls and bodies of our people!" The tract, written by an author under the pseudonym "Physician," argued that liquor ruled more despotically than Lincoln. Furthermore, Physician claimed, contemporary medical research indicated that temperate soldiers were healthier, more resistant to disease, and therefore more likely guaranteed survival than intemperate ones.[25]

Farther north in the armies of Tennessee and Northern Virginia, Florida troops encountered large-scale revivals that swept through both armies. The surge in religiosity reached a peak in the winter of 1863–1864 following the devastating setbacks of Gettysburg and Vicksburg. To house revivals in the cold months, soldiers and chaplains constructed log tabernacles along Virginia's Rapidan River. Informal prayer meetings became common, and many soldiers commented in their diaries and letters home that revivalism effectively reduced drinking, gambling, and swearing within the ranks.[26] While the army revivals lacked the emotional enthusiasm of Cane Ridge decades earlier, the number of soldiers being "born again" in Lee's army that winter numbered five hundred souls each week.[27] William W. Bennett, a revivalist in the Army of Northern Virginia, claimed 150,000 rebels expressed conversion during the war. Modern historians have not substantially revised that remarkable figure.[28]

The meaning of the battlefield revivals defies any simple explanation. Whether the religious surge reflected a groundswell from the rank and file or coordinated proselytizing by ecclesiastical, civilian, and military leaders remains uncertain. Some Florida soldiers claimed that the revivals smacked of social control. Military life imposed discipline and restrictions that chafed independent-minded southerners. The war necessitated thousands of men from all class ranks come in close contact for several years. In effect, the large encampments amounted to quasi-urban centers that brought to the surface tensions that had been hidden in the previous decade by a relatively stable economy, a high rate of land ownership, and a common allegiance to white supremacy. In the army, officers almost exclusively hailed from the upper classes, while yeomen and the poor populated the rank and file. Undoubtedly, revivals encouraged greater submission and some men resented the notion.[29]

Braxton Bragg's temperance campaign, for example, appeared to be driven more by a desire for discipline than moral purity. His reputation as a stern disciplinarian, which began with his iron-fisted command at Pensacola, continued throughout the war. One Confederate nurse related that she feared Bragg's reprisal if she allowed two majors who were visiting her hospital to drink the eggnog that she served her patients. "I told them they must first get an order from the surgeon," Kate Cumming wrote, "as General Bragg might put me under arrest for disobedience of orders."[30] Private Sam Watkins loathed Bragg for his

autocratic approach and charged that the general "loved to crush the spirit of his men. The more of a hang-dog look they had about them the better General Bragg was pleased."[31] Some soldiers may have taken Bragg's temperance campaign to heart, even if total abstinence was not achieved. One soldier writing home to thank his family for a recently received package remarked, "The whiskey you may depend will be used moderately as I belong to the Temperance society of whom Gen Braxton Bragg is president."[32] Bragg, however, only had strict camp regulations; he never organized a temperance society while in Confederate command. Thus the comment may have been written tongue-in-cheek.

In August 1862, Robert Watson witnessed a revival within his own regiment in the Army of Tennessee, but failed to be swayed. The Tampa native enjoyed his whiskey and had also taken to stealing potatoes from nearby farms. "There is a revival going on in the Regt. and half of them are being converted which makes better for us as they will not go out so often now after potatoes . . . and our boys will stand a better chance to get more for the psalm singing hypocrites will be afraid of being found out and expelled from Church," Watson wrote. While most of the men in Watson's company did not take part, his estimation that half of the regiment joined the revival was an extraordinarily high rate of participation. In his diary, Watson wrote condescendingly of the preacher, whose ministry appealed more to the sensibilities of poorer and less educated soldiers. "The preacher is a regular 'snorter' and can be heard for miles off yelling out Hell fire and brimstone which just suits the 'Crackers.' A good sensible preacher could not get along with them," he claimed.[33]

Regardless of the soldiers who resented military reform, the thousands of men who expressed conversion in camps and battlefields did so because they found comfort in the outreach. Conversion was not coercion; soldiers were born again because they wanted to be. As had been the case with missionary work to enslaved people before the war, the laity could form their own meanings from the preaching. Confederate soldiers had left their families in 1861 and 1862 only to witness the painful deaths of close friends. By 1863, the dawning realization that their glorious cause could fail brought confusion to a worldview that had in the recent past been assured that God was on their side. Should a minie ball or dysentery end their days, neither of which were unlikelihoods, a revivalist's assurances of greater rewards in heaven provided great solace to young men.[34]

Furthermore, if the revivals encouraged a military temperance movement, the common soldier stood to benefit. Complaints about drunkenness frequently targeted officers whose alcohol-impaired judgment led to costly mistakes on the battlefield. For example, after the slaughter at Malvern Hill, in which Confederates unwisely charged a hillside bristling with federal cannon, one soldier alleged that his commander was "drunk or crazy" during the battle.[35] Florida troops preparing for battle near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, most likely had concerns about their commanders' intemperance. Sam Watkins, who was encamped nearby with the 1st Tennessee regiment, remarked that the real general of the Army of Tennessee was John Barleycorn. Unfortunately for the troops, Watkins charged, "Our generals, and colonels, and captains, had kissed John a little too often. They couldn't see straight. They couldn't tell our own men from the Yankees. The private could, but he was no general you see."[36] At the Battle of Stones River one week later, Florida troops, like the Army of Tennessee generally, suffered staggering casualties. Temperate command would serve Johnny Reb well.

The temperance fervor that Florida soldiers encountered in the eastern and western theaters was not matched by the home front during the war. After their brief resurgence in 1858–1860, the Sons of Temperance in Middle Florida collapsed, not to be reborn until 1868. In addition, every church denomination suffered setbacks; wartime revivalism never gripped Middle Florida or the Confederate home front generally. Some churches suffered physical destruction. St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Jackson County burned when Confederate home guard used the edifice as a defensive position during a Union raid. General Alexander Asboth, who led the raiding federals into Marianna, was grazed by a Confederate minie ball fired out of St. Luke's. Shortly thereafter, the building caught fire. Union troops fired on rebels fleeing the blaze, and other home guardsmen burned with the church.[37] Trinity Episcopal Church in Apalachicola, which shared a rector with St. Luke's, suffered a less hostile form of degradation. Communicants donated the church's carpet to be used as rebel bed rolls, and Confederate ordnance melted Trinity's bell for a brass cannon.[38] Most of Trinity's communicants fled the blockaded port, and the church sat empty for most of the war.[39]

Other church buildings in the region fared better, but activity languished. All denominations had difficulty holding annual conferences and meetings due to wartime transportation restrictions imposed by the

blockade and river impediments. For these reasons, Bishop Francis Rutledge, a leading force in the secession movement, abandoned his episcopal visits to Florida parishes. Methodist divine George G. Smith wrote that the war exceeded his worst expectations: "It soon assumed dimensions of magnitude greater than any had conjectured, and family after family gave up its best loved. They went to the field of battle and many of them fell." Smith continued, "There was but little religious prosperity at such a time as this," and churches struggled to survive.[40]

Instead of experiencing a revivalist surge during the darkest hours of war as witnessed in Confederate armies, Florida's home front – like the Confederate home front generally – slid farther and farther into a state of spiritual lassitude.[41] Wesleyan John C. Ley remarked that Florida Methodism in 1862 was marked by "general disappointment." Assessing the decline, Ley credited "the large decrease in ministerial force, the fact that nearly all who remained were compelled to engage in some secular employment to supplement their support to the point of actual necessity, and the state of the country at large, caused a decrease of three hundred and fifty-seven white and nine hundred and eighty-seven colored members." The following years continued the trend. In 1863, he fretted that "the war cloud lowered, society was disorganized, and the general prospect was far from encouraging." By 1864, dire circumstances in the main theaters of war had drained the state of its white male laity. At the conclusion of the conflict, Ley mourned, "the Church was bankrupt in purse and almost despairing in mind."[42] Likewise, Florida's Baptist and Catholic churches also struggled. The exodus of laymen and chaplains forced some churches to close.[43]

In early 1864, Ethelred Philips, a Unionist living in Marianna, observed backslidden ways in Jackson County. Even prominent citizens turned to the bottle, he wrote, which given the circumstances was probably filled with adulterated liquor. "In good times," he wrote to his brother James in early 1864, "I rarely trusted the stuff sold in grogeries & never latterly but I hear for months past whiskey sells here at 40 per Bottle equal to 200 p gallon on which respectable men are frequently seen half drunk in our streets."[44] Later that year, Philips wrote James that liquor had affected local newspaper coverage of Alexander Asboth's Union raid. Instead of praising the old men who actually stood up to the federals, Philips decried, the editor lauded officers who had fled before

the skirmish began. "The Col & Staff ran away before a gun was fired – the scene was 250 yards from my house & I was amazed then our cavalry came by at full speed before I heard the first gun. As an evidence of the character of the press I will say those praised in the paper for distinguishing themselves were the very men on horseback who ran away – so much for newspaper fame." Philips declared that the newspaper man expected to be rewarded by the officers for his coverage. "The poor devil of an editor loves *liquor* better than anything else & expected they could do nothing less than treat him for his puff."[45]

Philips also drank alcohol, but did so to treat a chronic cough and his ailing body. In a letter to his brother in North Carolina, Philips thanked his sibling for sending a demijohn of his favorite spirits. "The brandy is excellent," he wrote. "I use it carefully as medicine & am sure I derive from it a comfort & benefit no well man can appreciate. Since fall, I had been using a liquor distilled from the fermentation of Syrup similar to Rum from Molasses a substitute for Brandy better & more palatable than new corn whiskey, but like all substitutes far inferior to the principal." Philips derided the adulteration practices that had become rampant in the Confederacy. "In Savannah, they infuse Juniper berries in Whiskey, put it up in quart little jugs 4 inches thick & 16 long holding 1½ pints & sell for imported *Holland Gin*. Petty rascality has become so common with our own folks they are ashamed to say a word of our Yankee cheats."[46]

The Union blockade of southern ports limited the variety of psychoactive substances available throughout the Confederacy. The population of Apalachicola dwindled as the Union navy strangled the port's trade. Commission merchants who had served the town and upriver necessarily left town. The Middle Florida home front did not have access to narcotics as they had had in the 1850s. Opiate painkillers, such as laudanum and paregoric, were used in the Confederate army for medicinal purposes, but few soldiers were afforded such a luxury. Confederate General John Bell Hood allegedly formed a laudanum habit following treatment for battlefield wounds he sustained at Gettysburg and then months later at Chickamauga. Some historians have argued that a painkiller addiction helps to explain Hood's quixotic leadership of the Army of Tennessee in 1864. Hood repeatedly attacked a larger Union army when he commanded the Confederate forces in Georgia and Tennessee.[47]

During the war, however, opiates remained expensive. Though thorough medical records are not available for Florida troops, it is unlikely that many had access to narcotics.

Despite the limited access of imported spirits, visitors to Tallahassee in 1864 found people in the capital more inclined to throw a party than attend church. Davis Bryant wrote to his sister Olivia on December 2, 1864, and commented that "Tallahassee is very gay now but I have not participated in it [to] much extent. There has been an entertainment here every night this week."[48] Their brother Willie agreed. After visiting Davis in the capital that December, he thought the festive atmosphere too much given the war. "Tallahassee has been shamefully gay," he wrote. "I know of no place that so justly deserves a visitation by the enemy."[49] Willie Bryant might not have been aware of it, but elites in other Confederate cities also hosted balls and parties as the Confederacy collapsed. Such fetes in the midst of deprivation, as Bryant pointed out, could damage morale on the home front.[50]

Catholic Bishop Augustin Verot, whose proslavery sermon had rallied southerners in 1861, spent much of the war in Georgia. In 1864, he traveled to Andersonville, where he witnessed the horrific conditions of the war's most notorious prison.[51] Consistent with their belief in providential will, Verot, Rutledge, and Florida's men of God slowly realized that the Almighty had not been on their side after all. Unable to visit his struggling parishes, the elderly Rutledge languished in Tallahassee. Invested in the Confederacy spiritually and monetarily, the bishop became despondent to the point his communicants worried about him.[52] "The Bishop eats like a bird," one parishioner remarked, "he has so little appetite and has to be tempted to eat."[53] Ironically, the belief in providential will that had buttressed secession now induced despondence and strong doubt in the Confederate cause.[54]

Even so, ecclesiastical resistance to federal authority persisted beyond the collapse of Florida's Confederate capital. General Edwin McCook, whose column of five hundred U.S. troopers captured Tallahassee on May 11, 1865, found local ministers obstreperous. The general later remarked that the citizens "seemed to feel our success had at last relieved them from the oppression they had so long suffered at the hands of rebel authorities." Florida, mostly due to its peripheral importance to the Union war strategy and not its remarkable defense, had become the last Confederate state east of the Mississippi to have its capital fall into fed-

eral hands. Civil officials accepted surrender peacefully, but McCook's forces faced more stubborn opposition from local clerics.[55] The morning after the general read the Emancipation Proclamation in Tallahassee, William H. Ellis, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, intentionally omitted a prayer for the president of the United States prescribed in the liturgy of the national Protestant Episcopal Church. Learning of this symbolic omission, the general fired an angry and chastising missive to the minister later in the day: "did you think how much you might be promoting hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness [sic], sedition, and rebellion?" Warning Ellis that the army would close the church if this practice continued, McCook reminded him of his duty to quell discord "instead of endeavoring to keep it alive as you did this morning."[56]

That afternoon, Bishop Francis Rutledge, physically and emotionally reduced by the war, stood before St. John's and delivered the benediction. Congregants noted that the bishop had "trembling hands and unsteady voice," as he opened the service. Yet Rutledge forgot McCook's warning and included a blessing for Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who had been captured 110 miles north of Tallahassee 11 days earlier, in his prayer. Realizing the error, the bishop bowed his head and repeated the last lines of his invocation, this time uttering "United States of America" instead.[57] The ecclesiastical resistance to Union authority, which had been critical in launching Florida into the Confederacy four years earlier, ended grudgingly.

Other men of God, such as Methodist minister Orson Branch and Presbyterian divine Dr. John DuBose, complied with the order but not without a word in edgewise. Branch prayed, "we most humbly beseech Thee to look down upon Thy servant, the President of the United States and so endue him with Thy wisdom and Thy loving kindness, that he may realize the responsibility and the difficulties of his position. Open his eyes to the truth and, seeing, give him of Thy grace, that he may walk in the paths of truth and justice." Similarly, DuBose prayed that God would "take under Thy care and guidance Thy servant, the President of the United States of America, open his eyes that he may see aright, open his heart that he may do thy will, set his feet in the paths of righteousness and give him strength that he may walk therein."[58] Simon Peter Richardson, living in Madison at the close of the Civil War, put up more resistance. Not immediately willing to swear his allegiance to the United States, occupying forces barred Richardson from preaching until

he did so. When he finally relented to the wishes of local Methodists, he declared that he swore allegiance "with mental reservation." When he finally offered a prayer for the U.S. executive, he prayed that "the Lord would take out of him and his allies the hearts of beasts, and put in them the hearts of men, or remove the curses from office."[59]

The vacuum created in the churches by the exodus of the male laity might have offered leadership opportunities for Florida's white women. Wartime exigencies required women to assume other masculine roles as they took on the responsibilities of departed husbands, sons, and brothers, while also contributing homespun clothing and blankets to Florida troops. The experience was hardly exhilarating. Even though public support for the war persisted to the end, women expressed reservations about the war in correspondence and diary entries as early as 1862.[60] The hardships and burdens of work left little time for church activities and organization. Therefore the potential for greater church leadership during the war remained unfilled. The demands of war did not afford it.[61]

One exception, however, was the ritual of mourning. Women, as much as short-handed ministers, coordinated public expressions of grief as Florida men died by the thousands between 1861 and 1865.[62] In several respects female mourning was perfectly consistent with antebellum feminine mores. Grief demonstrated unselfishness and a willing submission to God. Mourning rituals also represented steadfastness and a faith in the cause for which fathers, sons, and brothers died. Finding solace in Christian scripture, Confederate women professed their faith in a just God's cruel world. Yet as the war dragged on and the Confederacy's failure became evident, white women in the South faced a crisis in their worldview. The stillborn nation's motto, "Deo Vindice," or "Defended by God," proved false. Historian Drew Gilpin Faust argued that women were at a loss to explain Confederate defeat and they found that "neither Christianity nor Confederate nationalism seemed any longer adequate to serve as a guiding compass." As women witnessed the disaster around them, their confidence in patriarchal government and the evangelical Christianity that supported it had been shaken.[63]

While churches in Florida struggled to rebuild, the national temperance movement also regrouped following four years of devastating war and the collapse of the Maine Laws. The bulwark of the resurgent dry campaign, particularly in the Midwest, would be middle-class women. Gutted spiritually and ecclesiastically by the Civil War, southern women

would focus their efforts on rebuilding communities and churches rather than social reform. Even so, the seeds of Florida prohibition were sown in 1865. The abolition of slavery, now in effect with the Union occupation of Tallahassee, crumbled the foundation of the state's temperance legislation. In its place, Floridians would create a more extensive system to regulate and ultimately prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

4 "In close communion with John Barleycorn"

Race, Reform, and Reconstruction

The Civil War was a major setback for the temperance movement in Middle Florida and the United States generally. The political and social flux of Reconstruction, however, would ultimately refocus the movement and set the state on the path toward prohibition. Arguably, emancipation had the biggest impact on temperance reform. Middle Florida's enslaved people, who comprised slightly more than 53 percent of the district's population in 1860, were now legally free.[1] The war ended prohibition for African Americans, who could now legally buy and consume alcohol. The specter of freedmen gathering in public to consume alcohol ignited white fears. Furthermore, military and civil authorities blamed intemperance by both whites and blacks for exacerbating tensions and in some cases igniting violence between the races during Reconstruction. Public drinking culture, which had reflected racial and class hierarchies in the 1850s, became much more fluid by the late 1860s. These factors, which were largely absent in the late antebellum period, created demands for temperance reform as Reconstruction came to a close.

Reconstruction in Florida, similar to the experiences of Deep South states generally, was a complicated and ultimately tragic era.[2] For a

brief moment, there existed the possibility of a true social revolution in which recently emancipated slaves would be given social, legal, and political equality. Yet Florida's Republican Party, which led state government from 1868 until 1876, pursued a course of moderate change that weakened the influence of the state's blacks. The national Republican Party also equivocated on black civil rights and in the end acquiesced to the return of white supremacy. In the state, as was the case nationally, the temperance issue got lost in the complicated questions of reunion. Whether or not to prohibit the sale of alcohol was initially not as pressing an issue as was how to heal a Union that had been rent by four years of deadly war.[3]

Middle Florida political culture during Reconstruction in some ways resembled that of the territorial era more so than that of the 1850s. A two-party system took shape, but party often mattered less than allegiance to a smaller faction. Hotels, barrooms, and boardinghouses functioned as meeting places for these groups, and, not surprisingly, competing factions leveled charges of treating and bribery at one another. Such factionalism divided Florida Republicans and crippled black politicians' efforts to pass sweeping and self-styled "radical" civil rights protections for freedmen. Blacks' political influence in state government was limited after 1876, but opportunities in local government remained. As the possibility of comprehensive civil rights protections passed, temperance reform – which held promise for stabilizing families and social uplift – became an increasingly popular political issue for black ministers and politicians.

The Civil War also challenged the balance of power in gender relations, which in turn shaped the postbellum reform movement. The high percentages of male participation and staggeringly high rate of casualties put an extraordinary strain on women, who not only had to continue their own labors, but had to take on the work of departed male family members as well. These greater responsibilities overwhelmed white women in Middle Florida, and, perhaps not surprisingly, dampened support for female social and political advancement. Ministers even openly criticized women who ventured into the public sphere to raise money for Confederate widows and orphans, a public activity permitted to women in Richmond and other southern cities. Given these obstacles, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was slow to take root in the region. A Florida chapter would not be

formed until 1884, ten years after the organization was founded in Ohio.

Nationally, but particularly in the Midwest, women began to lead temperance reform by the 1870s. Women marched in street parades, demonstrated, and led "pray-ins" in saloons, all the while bringing national attention to the degrading influence of the liquor traffic on their families. Neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party, both of which were increasingly professional and machine-like organizations, had interest in sponsoring temperance. Lacking support from either party, temperance reform was increasingly a "movement of outsiders" and the WCTU became one of the foremost national organizations pushing for prohibition. In addition, temperance reformers and women suffragists were often one and the same. On the state and country levels, the WCTU helped set the stage for direct political influence, and thus temperance was an important stepping stone toward guaranteed suffrage rights.[4]

In contrast, women in Middle Florida during the 1860s and 1870s had difficulty organizing public events – even charities – without facing criticism. In fact, shortly after the war, Middle Florida ministers criticized women for violating social and biblical codes for acceptable feminine behavior. When a group of Tallahassee women tried to raise money for a Confederate monument in 1867, an ecumenical trio of ministers condemned the action as inappropriate female behavior in a letter to the Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*. The clergymen, led by Presbyterian John DuBose, charged that only men could perform such an act of public consolation. The women, likewise an ecumenical group of Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians called the Ladies Memorial Association, revealed an unwillingness to submit to ministerial authority when they refused to abandon their event and even answered the ministers' criticisms in the newspaper. The women and ministers exchanged barbs in the *Semi-Weekly Floridian* during the weeks leading up to the Calico Ball, an event at which the women also hoped to raise money and collect clothing for widows and orphans.

In their opening salvo against the Ladies Memorial Association, the ministers claimed that their opposition to the benevolent enterprise was that the method of fundraising, a ball, represented "a prostitution of charity to selfish and sensual purposes" and a "marriage of good and evil."[5] The women replied that Christians had long held such events to

raise money for the church. In fact, women had hosted similar fairs in Middle Florida before the Civil War without ministerial objection. In a rejoinder to the ministers, one of the women proposed to "leave the families of our deceased soldiers to be provided by you three revered gentlemen, who may possibly prove more successful than we did in appealing to the higher principle of charity and not have to resort to the 'objectional means' of Festivals, Concerts, Tableaux, etc. Come now gentlemen, what do you propose?"[6]

The following week DuBose answered, this time revealing the true source of the rub: women overstepping biblical and societal codes of femininity. "To guard the Church is the special duty of the ministry," he replied. The Ladies Memorial Association offended his sensibilities because it had "placed itself in the sphere of the minister." DuBose acknowledged that criticizing the women for their good intentions may have appeared harsh, but he had scriptural authority for his position:

> But says one, "we cannot say anything, these are ladies." Well, here is a difficulty; a minister ought to be a polite, courteous gentleman. But here comes the Apostle Paul with some words as to what we as ministers are to say to the ladies. He says, "Speak thou the things that become sound doctrine. The aged women, likewise, that they be in behavior as *becometh holiness*, not false accusers, not given to much wine, *teachers of good things*, that they teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blamed." That is Paul's way of speaking to the ladies. So referring the ladies to him, I will make no comment.[7]

Despite the minister's claim that scripture settled the issue, a representative of the memorial association fired back a pointed missive several days later. The writer countered that nowhere does the Bible condemn dancing. Therefore, the association refused to abide by DuBose's unsupported doctrine, which was really not fueled by dancing, by the fear that the women were "leading the younger women astray, whom we ought to teach to be 'keepers of the home, to love their husbands, to love their children,' etc." The writer then steadied the crosshairs on Dr. John DuBose himself:

> Now, Doctor, let me whisper a word to you privately, and answer me candidly: What have you ever done to aid the distressed families of our

> deceased and maimed soldiers? and "what plan do you propose" for their future welfare? I believe the Ladies of the Association have pretty well made up their minds to follow my advice, and turn these helpless objects of charity over to *you*, to be assisted by that higher law of charity which you advocate, but which I fear will be totally inadequate to the ends proposed. Permit me . . . to answer in regard to whether "the salvation of souls" was my object in writing that previous letter, to say that it was dictated by a simple desire to defend myself and the other ladies of the association from the insulting and uncalled for charges made against us in your letter, and also to prevent our efforts for raising funds for the poor from proving unsuccessful by your thunders against us.[8]

In an advertisement in the same issue, the association indicated that the Calico Ball would go on – in the capitol building, no less – in spite of the ministerial objections. "[T]he Ball will be given under the auspices of 'Matrons of mature age and orderly habits,' whose real object is to provide for the sick and needy," the advertisement read. The association's fundraiser was not, the advertisement claimed, "'under the guise of charity, to indulge in midnight revelry,' it is hoped *all* will attend."[9] In fact, the Calico Ball was well attended. The association reported afterward that they had raised $878 as well as collected clothing. Given that admission was $2 for women and $3 for men, attendance must have numbered in the hundreds.[10] The opposition had crippled the women's efforts, though. The association abandoned their plans for a monument.[11] Several years later, however, plans for another monument surfaced. This memorial association, which intended to build a monument at the Olustee battlefield near Lake City, faced no clerical opposition – most likely because the association consisted of "leading men."[12] Likewise, DuBose never opposed the charity efforts of Middle Florida chapters of the Odd Fellows, a fraternal benevolence association that emerged in Florida during Reconstruction.[13]

Shifting gender codes revealed in the Calico Ball controversy were mild in comparison to the tectonic effect that emancipation had on ecclesiastical authority. The ever irascible and self-described un-Reconstructed Simon Peter Richardson admitted years later in his memoir that he would have been willing to use violence in order to uphold white supremacy that his church had in part helped to maintain. He encouraged his own congregation to "bush-whack" occupying black troops, if

necessary. When occupying U.S. Colored Troops tried to use his well, Richardson told the black men in blue that he "would make a hole in them big enough for [a] dog to jump through," if they tried to draw any more water. After a standoff, the soldiers returned to their headquarters near the Madison courthouse where the minister followed them:

> When I reached [the courthouse], about fifty negroes were loading their guns, and the little captain was pounding the table. When I came up he said I had set a magazine on fire, having threatened to put a hole through his soldiers large enough for a dog to jump through. I told him that was only poetry; that his negroes insulted my wife, and that if he should come to my house to insult my wife I would make a hole through him. He had addressed me as colonel, but when I loosened the sword in my cane, he looked me full in the face and said, "Elder, I don't want any difficulty." I told him neither do I, for he had the advantage of me, but that I would sell out very dear. He ordered his negroes to their quarters, and said they should not disturb me any more. He and I later became friendly and later talked over the trouble.[14]

Despite such racial confrontations, white churches in Florida tried to retain their black congregations, but given the option, freedmen and freedwomen almost universally chose to leave the white churches that they had been subservient members of before the Civil War. The exodus hit Richardson's Methodist Church, the largest antebellum denomination, the hardest. Nearly half of Florida's antebellum Wesleyans had been slaves, and they now chose to join Florida's rapidly growing African Methodist Episcopal (AME) or African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) churches. Black Baptist churches also attracted freedpeople in great numbers, while Presbyterian and Episcopalian denominations had smaller, but devoted black congregations. The movement represented a major challenge to white supremacy, as the new churches soon became powerful forces pushing for black social and political advancement.[15]

In the first year of Reconstruction, however, such changes remained in the future as Florida's defeated Confederates returned to public office under the mild postwar requirements established by President Andrew Johnson. In October 1865, a state constitutional convention met in Tallahassee to rewrite antebellum laws. Most important, the lawmakers had to denounce secession as illegal as well as accept the Thirteenth Amendment and hence the abolition of slavery. Yet the new constitution also rendered suffrage, jury duty, and political office as privileges limited

to white males. Furthermore, in the subsequent sessions of the Florida legislature under the new constitution, the legislature passed a number of laws that strove to limit freedmen's civil rights. Collectively known as the "black code," the laws dealt with "labor contracts, vagrancy, apprenticeship, marriage, taxation, the judicial system, and crime and punishment." In short, the laws strove to maintain blacks in a subservient caste similar to that of free blacks before the Civil War.[16]

Surprisingly, however, the same legislature rescinded alcohol prohibition based on race. Blacks could now purchase and consume alcohol without breaking state law.[17] In its inattention to reform, Florida's legislature during Presidential Reconstruction reflected the attitude of the 1850s when temperance had cooled. The only measures that limited the liquor trade between 1865 and 1867 sought to improve quality. When the Union blockade restricted the liquor supply during the war, sellers had unscrupulously doctored, or "adulterated," the brew to increase volume and profit. The resultant rotgut could be toxic, as some of the additives used included vitriol, capsicum, and acetate of lead. Legislators strongly desired to end the practice with a maximum five hundred dollar fine or a twelve-month prison sentence for offenders. Legislators also cracked down on the administration of medicine under the influence of alcohol, but this measure – like adulterated liquor – was really an issue of public health, not social reform.[18]

While white Floridians had frequently protested the presence of black troops in 1865, they rarely complained about freedmen's behavior or incidents of public drunkenness in the years immediately following the war. J. W. Durkee, an agent for the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, or Freedmen's Bureau, remarked in 1868 that "It is a rare sight to see a colored man intoxicated." In his estimation, Durkee did not think that "there is as much intemperance among the blacks as among the whites."[19] Even conservative newspapers such as Tallahassee's *Semi-Weekly Floridian* praised blacks' public celebrations and parades commemorating Florida Emancipation Day and the Fourth of July. Celebrated on the anniversary of Edwin McCook's reading of the Emancipation Proclamation in Tallahassee on May 20, 1865, Emancipation Day became an important Middle Florida event as early as 1867. May 20 parades, orations, and barbecues built on a tradition of similarly themed festivals that African Americans had already begun in the free states to celebrate bans on the international slave trade. Like these fetes,

Florida Emancipation Day was not merely an excuse for a party, but rather an act of political expression, a public act that was coordinated to demonstrate pride and decency in the wake of lifetimes of involuntary servitude and degradation.[20]

Emancipation Day in 1867 occurred amid significant changes in the national leadership of Reconstruction. Congressional Republicans, outraged at President Johnson's acquiescence to racial violence and the black codes, wrested control over Reconstruction from the beleaguered president. Congress passed a series of Reconstruction Acts between 1866 and 1868 that collectively rejected most of the postbellum state governments and divided the former Confederacy into five military districts. Florida, Georgia, and Alabama fell under the Third Military District, commanded by General John Pope.[21] Despite the political subtext, white reactionaries did not openly oppose the May 20 celebrations during the first years of the annual event. At the 1867 Emancipation Day in Tallahassee, a long procession filled Monroe Street as spectators lined the sidewalks. During the parade, "the air was frequently rent with cheers raised through the whole line," but according to a newspaper correspondent, the event never got out of hand. The reporter excused some rowdy behavior, such as gunshots fired during speeches, and argued that disruptions were the exception: "We think that most of the fighting and shouting was occasioned by young men who had been holding close communion with John Barleycorn." On the whole, "The order of the meeting, considering the immense numbers in attendance and the object which called them forth, was very good, and reflected great credit on those in charge."[22]

One sight clearly amused the reporter: the coordinators of the parade had difficulty controlling the women. In comparison to the antebellum temperance processions that clearly defined masculine and feminine roles, freedwomen refused to accept a subservient position in the parade. "Standing near as they passed," the reporter observed, "one who seemed to have some authority said that the women must not get in the ranks; that they intended to make this the jubilee day and women could participate at the proper time." The women refused to yield, however, as they "fell in at different places, not being willing to let men have all the 'fun.'"[23] Like their white counterparts who rebutted John DuBose's criticism, black women felt confident enough to challenge prescribed positions. As post-emancipation rituals were still in their infancy, black

women had more success breaking into these embryonic institutions. Gender lines were not as clear as within white public rituals. Nevertheless, in both racial communities, Reconstruction proved to be a moment of malleability in respect to socially prescribed gender roles.[24]

Throughout Reconstruction, newspapers, whether they were Democrat or Republican, described freedmen's celebrations of Emancipation Day and the Fourth of July in glowing terms.[25] Freedmen's Bureau agents and occupying U.S. troops, on the other hand, told a different story. Intemperance did become a problem at these public events, but those creating the disturbance were white, not black. In an effort to avoid drunken violence on the Fourth of July in 1867, General Pope ordered that all barrooms be closed between July 3 and July 6.[26] Throughout the New South, celebration of the national holiday was a particularly sensitive issue, as former Confederates now regarded the day as a Yankee celebration. Nevertheless, five thousand people – mostly freedmen from the surrounding region – gathered in Marianna to acknowledge the day. "Everything passed off harmoniously, as far as the freedpeople, and the Union people are concerned," wrote one agent. Unfortunately, "Some of the white citizens in rear of the audience were intoxicated, and disorderly," he complained.[27] Honoring a tradition among blacks in the North, freedpeople in Marianna celebrated emancipation on New Year's in 1868. Agent W. J. Purman wrote that the celebrants were "very orderly and becoming in manner," but he could see clouds of racial discord on the horizon. "Nothing occurred to mar the harmony of the occasion, although it is evident that a stronger spirit exists against the colored people today than ever before," Purman observed.[28] Unfortunately for the agent, he was right. Later that summer violent confrontations between the races erupted in Jackson County, and Purman would find himself in the middle of the turmoil.[29]

Other Freedmen's Bureau agents wrote to their superiors that drunken white men threatened them. Reporting from Madison, J. E. Quentin relayed an occurrence that had alarmed and distressed him. "I was under the impression that the rank and uniform protected an United States officer from the insults and abuses of drunken and otherwise low characters," he complained. Even though Quentin had "been lately insulted and assaulted without cause by a drunken fellow," he had had no luck having the man prosecuted and punished.[30] One month later, the agent continued to vent his frustration and suggested that Florida's

ex-Confederates desperately needed reform, but doubted that they would ever accept it:

> The class and character of the people in general is comparable with that in our frontier country, only I believe that they move more rapid towards improvement and refinement than the inhabitants of this country will ever do. Florida has long been known as the place of refuge for offenders from the neighboring states and the fugitives from law are still the inhabitants of this country to a great extent . . . it is easy to judge the character of society, and where the best informed lead a course disreputable in many respects, it cannot be supported that the uneducated, the freedmen, and the poorer class of whites could be much better.[31]

Though available accounts indicate that incidents of drunken and disorderly behavior by blacks were uncommon, Freedmen's Bureau agents had difficulty establishing temperance organizations in Middle Florida and throughout the former Confederacy. Temperance was a pet reform of General Oliver Otis Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and he encouraged his agents to establish chapters of the Lincoln Temperance Society among freedmen. In their reports, agents remarked that blacks expressed little interest in joining. Agent Charles M. Hamilton's view mirrored similar observations from around the region. "I cannot call to mind a half dozen instances among the freed-people during the whole time (18 months) I have been here," he wrote in 1867. "And what is equally irregular, though not so gratifying, I have not been able to organize the Lincoln Temperance Society."[32]

Having just formed their own churches, freedpeople most likely chafed at the idea of further religious instruction at the hands of whites and remained lukewarm at the idea of forming their own temperance societies. The AME Church, the dominant black church in Middle Florida, could not agree whether or not to support total abstinence. At an 1871 convention of AME ministers, a temperance committee resolved that ministers should abstain and should exhort their members to do the same. Yet the issue received little more than verbal support from black churches in the early 1870s. The right to buy alcohol was a privilege denied under slavery, and the churches worked to advance black rights. As Florida's east coast population swelled later in the century, black temperance societies began to blossom in Jacksonville and St. Augustine, but the movement never took root in Middle Florida.[33] The Sons

of Temperance also tried to encourage the establishment of subordinate black chapters, but met with limited success. As had been the case with the Freedmen's Bureau Lincoln Temperance Societies, African Americans preferred to work within their own AME and Baptist churches. Yet like their white counterparts, Middle Florida's black temperance leaders valued order, respectability, and class distinctions. For example, the Tallahassee *Sentinel*, a Republican Party organ, lauded black Baptist minister Jonas Toer, a supporter of the dry cause, in his 1872 obituary. "[He was] one of Nature's noblemen. He was the very pink of propriety in his manner and personal appearance, and was a good type of the old school Southern gentleman carved in ebony."[34] Born a slave, Toer became a justice of the peace and city councilman in postbellum Tallahassee.[35] Fellow Tallahassee councilmen, such as black minister and state cabinet official Jonathan Gibbs, praised Toer's "correct life, his manly virtues, and his consistent endeavor to make the world better and mankind happier by both his example and precept and because his life and death furnishes a suggestive lesson to all classes of our citizens . . . as a member of the Temperance reform his services were invaluable."[36] In the coming decades, the equation of temperance with black social respect emerged as an important theme in the movement.

While joining or forming temperance organizations did not initially appeal to freedmen, they recognized that liquor could be a volatile and destabilizing substance. On at least one occasion, blacks confronted whites who tried to sell liquor to freedmen. A white whiskey seller named Thomson complained to the Freedmen's Bureau in 1866 that an older freedman named Taliaferro had verbally threatened him for plying his trade. An agent interviewed the former slave and determined that the freedman had done nothing wrong. In his report the agent wrote that Taliaferro's "intention was simply to put Thomson on his guard against selling liquor to the negroes now that they have money. He affirms and apparently with honesty, that this was his only motive."[37]

While the black churches remained reluctant to endorse temperance wholeheartedly, the drunken and disorderly behavior of ex-Confederates inspired legislative action. In 1867, Congress refused to recognize Florida's state government and denied the state's readmission to the Union. Until the state complied with postwar constitutional amendments that protected black civil and voting rights – not just freedom as outlined in Florida's constitution of 1865 – the state would remain under military

occupation. In other words, the black codes had to go. The state had to draft a new constitution, and the convention election had to allow black suffrage in the elections. In January 1868, a new convention would meet in Tallahassee, this time with a significant African American delegation and a Republican majority.[38]

Delegates to the 1868 convention were hardly a homogenous group and consisted of freedmen, white Unionists, and so-called carpetbaggers (whites and blacks who had moved to the South after the Civil War). Among the black delegation there existed tensions between northern blacks and former slaves and between Baptists and African Methodists who in some districts had endorsed different delegates. The convention, which opened during a particularly cold January, quickly divided into two main groups known as the Moderates (sometimes called Conservatives in contemporary sources) and the Radicals. The Moderates were led by former Freedmen's Bureau agent Thomas Osborn and Jacksonville's Harrison Reed, a so-called carpetbagger from Wisconsin, and other men who had come to Florida on federally appointed positions. The Radicals were led by former Union colonel Liberty Billings, a white native of New Hampshire who had commanded a black regiment in Florida during the 1864 Olustee Campaign; William U. Saunders, a free black from Maryland who had moved to Florida in 1867; and Daniel Richards, who had been a federal tax collector in Fernandina. This trio was based in East Florida, but they soon formed an alliance with AME Bishop Charles Pearce, a Pennsylvania black who had established African Methodism in Florida. Despite their differences, almost all of the black delegates sided with the Radical camp, which endorsed a system of apportionment that would provide Middle Florida's highly populated black counties legislative seats based on population. They also wanted state offices such as cabinet seats elected rather than appointed positions, which along with the apportionment plan, would provide extensive black influence on state government. The Moderate Republicans, on the other hand, favored an apportionment system that weakened the electoral influence of Middle Florida's black majority counties. The Moderates also supported more gubernatorial appointments. The Moderate plan would ensure that a black majority in the state legislature would be all but impossible.[39]

Solon Robinson, a correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, described the convention factionalism as particularly ugly in Tallahassee and, in

one of his dispatches, compared the convention hall to a gladiatorial arena. When Robinson began reporting from Tallahassee, the Radical camp held a slim minority of overall delegates, but temporarily held a majority while Moderates were slow to arrive in the capital and take their seats at the convention. The Radicals became known as the Mule Team, because Billings arranged for a rented mule-led wagon to ferry their delegates from the train station to a boardinghouse, which served as unofficial headquarters for the group. The Radicals were disproportionately poor, and the leaders of the faction provided housing and transportation to make these delegates' presence affordable. Since the Mule Team held a majority when a quorum was called on the first day of the convention, they were able to appoint committee chairs and take leadership over the convention. As more conservative delegates arrived, however, the Radicals' control became more tenuous and the convention devolved into weeks of debate about procedure.[40]

Robinson wrote that the Conservatives used the City Hotel as their unofficial headquarters and held unseemly parties to bribe Radical delegates and sway them into their camp. "Conservative Republicans both in and out of the Convention, began to caucus day and night, with the leading rebels freely admitted to their councils, to devise ways and means to overthrow the Radicals," Robinson wrote. "The principal hotel in the city was opened freely to the delegates who would act with them, and who were all poor – many of them had not money enough to pay their board bills with. Whiskey flowed free as water. Money was used in abundance to corrupt the delegates, which was like tendering bread to a starving man."[41] Hotel barrooms and billiard halls were filled with talk of the convention. Yet after weeks of trying to break up the Mule Team, the Moderate camp walked out of the convention and reconvened in Monticello, where they wrote their own constitution. They returned to Tallahassee on February 10 and prepared to take over the convention. The Moderate delegates (now called the Seceders) slipped into the convention hall close to midnight and called the session to order. They deposed Daniel Richards as convention president, successfully pulled several of the Radicals into their camp, and established a clear majority of the convention. Despite Radicals' protest, the Moderate constitution passed.[42]

Florida's constitution of 1868 was decidedly the most progressive in the state's turbulent history, but fell short of the high aspirations of most black delegates. In addition to an unfavorable system of apportionment

to blacks, the constitution had more lenient suffrage requirements for former Confederates than the Radical model, which had sought to effectively disfranchise everyone who had aided the Confederacy. The new state government would enjoy significant black political involvement, but less than what would have been allowed under the Radical plan.[43] Furthermore, factions and distrust that had emerged in the convention of 1868 would continue to plague Florida's Republicans. Coalitions continued to form and crumble, and backstabbing rivalries crippled Republicans' efforts to pass extensive civil rights laws. Even so, a newly elected Florida legislature went to work under the new constitution in the fall of 1868. The Republican-dominated body proved to be much more reform-minded than their immediate predecessors. Whether or not their intention was to quiet the obstreperous and intemperate ex-Confederates is not clear, but at the first session under the constitution of 1868, legislators passed stringent new laws meant to punish offenders against chastity, morality, and decency. Though similar measures existed under antebellum law, the Republican legislature – possibly because of the complaints of Freedmen's Bureau agents – now went after intemperance with greater vigor. Included in these postbellum blue laws was a provision to punish "common drunkards" and people who "habitually misspend their time by frequenting houses of ill fame, gaming houses, or tippling shops," with jail sentences not to exceed six months.[44] At the 1869 session, the legislature began to reconstruct the state's licensing system that had not yet been reimplemented after 1865. The new law allowed a smaller fee, but not a loophole, for retailers of liquor that would not be consumed on the premises. In other words, those who sold liquor in "quantities greater than one quart" paid ten dollars instead of fifty dollars.[45] In 1872, the legislature substantially increased the fees to fifty dollars and one hundred dollars respectively.[46]

As the legislature tried to control tippling houses and public drunkenness with high license fees, race relations in Florida had become especially intense and frayed. Former Confederates organized as Ku Klux Klan chapters, "democratic clubs," or "white regulators" and threatened black politicians and voters on terrorizing night raids. Responding to these threats, African American communities armed themselves in defense. Throughout Middle Florida in the late 1860s and early 1870s, sporadic violence erupted as a result. The reemerging temperance movement, reflected in the Republican legislative action, was partly

a response to political discord that intoxication helped to exacerbate. Incidents and threats of violence occurred throughout the region, but nowhere was the situation as dire as Jackson County. Race relations in Marianna had only worsened since W. J. Purman had observed in 1867 that "a stronger spirit exists against the colored people" after drunken whites crashed a freedmen Fourth of July barbecue. Between 1868 and 1871, whites and blacks attacked one another with alarming regularity, with freedpeople clearly on the losing side. Purman himself narrowly escaped assassination when he survived a gunshot wound that left him bleeding from the neck in downtown Marianna. Secretary of State Jonathan Gibbs, the state's first African American cabinet member, estimated that 153 people died violently during that three-year span. The casualties mostly occurred in Jackson County, but smaller skirmishes marred the entire plantation region. Some Floridians believed that the tally was actually higher.[47] As the white night-riders had hoped, the race war intimidated black voters and helped end Republican rule in Florida by 1875. Terrorized and harassed, many black families opted to migrate out of violent counties such as Jackson, which helped to ensure that Reconstruction in Florida's plantation belt ended prematurely and in tragedy. Others chose personal safety over the franchise and public office. By 1874, Conservative Democrats had recaptured the state legislature and then narrowly elected a Democratic governor, George F. Drew, in 1876.[48]

Yet the end of Reconstruction did not stamp out black presence in public life. Blacks continued to hold public office, albeit mostly on the local level, until the 1920s. The era of Jim Crow, during which blacks would be effectively disfranchised and segregated, was not ushered in overnight. In fact, visitors to local markets in the early 1880s found a society that was in many ways remarkably integrated. Saturday market days were an especially unsettling time for white supremacy as the predominantly black rural population traveled into Tallahassee to trade and socialize. Kirk Munroe, a correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*, observed a Tallahassee market day in 1883 and revealed the importance that these days had for the local population. Not only were they critical for the local economy, but market days also functioned as an outlet for sociability and a chance to demand respect. Most important, though, going into town was fun. Walking to the market from all directions the rural population took care to look their best before entering the capital. After tread-

ing barefoot for miles on red clay roads, families stopped to clean up in streams just outside of the town. "Strapping wenches who have guided a plow or hoed cotton all the week, barefoot and barelegged," Munroe wrote, "find here a place to rest, restore their dresses to their proper length, and don the shoes that they have thus far carefully carried." The women also removed their dusty and dirty bandanas and replaced them with clean and more brightly colored turbans. The younger women, "straight and lithe, bearing upon their heads baskets of eggs or other articles with the grace and skill of Eastern watercarriers, set down their burdens, and often, with the clear water as a mirror, pin to their dress bright bits of ribbon, or display trifling ornaments and trinkets reserved for festive occasions."[49] Munroe's descriptions were those of a bemused onlooker, but expressions of material culture – such as fashion – mattered a great deal. Under slavery, people did not have control of their own bodies, and women had been especially vulnerable to the unwanted advances of white masters. The institution had left emotional and corporal scars. Taking control over their bodies and taking great pride in their personal appearance was reflective of a people seeking personal and social respect.[50] To Munroe and his intended white, northern audience such a spectacle was comical, strange, and beyond their ken.

Munroe observed that once in town the men and women went separate ways: the men to the cotton market and to the barrooms and the women to the stores. The women "handle and price every article within reach, and cause much vexation of spirit to the white clerks who are forced to wait upon them and answer their innumerable questions. Meantime the throngs in the streets increase until the sidewalks and stores are packed with a mass of black humanity, independent, conscious of their own importance, noisy, good-natured, argumentative, but rarely aggressive or quarrelsome, and forming by their numbers such a formidable barrier to progress that the few whites whose business calls them into the town generally prefer to walk in the middle of the street rather than attempt to force a passage along the sidewalks."[51]

One of the most popular attractions in Tallahassee was a peddler of patent medicines. Munroe found the man to be a scam artist who entertained the crowd with songs and presentations of miraculous cures. "The vendor of patent medicines drives his gaudily decorated wagon through the streets and, stopping at a corner, sings a negro melody," Munroe wrote. "For a few minutes he entertains them with jokes so stale that

they have long since been discarded by the most insignificant of circus clowns." After demonstrating the powerful effect of his various elixirs, the salesman cracked more jokes, sang more songs, and sold "his bottles of trash." Munroe concluded that "the curbstone dealers in toys, candy, cheap perfumes, and the like do flourishing business on these Saturday market-days, and their methods of attracting customers are so similar to those of the medicine man that the air resounds for hours with the voices of these itinerant tradesmen."[52]

Besides the snake oil remedies that peddlers hawked on street corners, druggists in postbellum Middle Florida also provided an array of patent medicines. During the Civil War, the Union blockade had diminished the supply of narcotics, but stores of opium and morphine once again found their way to drugstore shelves during Reconstruction. The last decades of the nineteenth century were momentous in global psychoactive consumption. Merck, the same German company that had developed the opiate morphine, isolated the psychoactive alkaloid of the South American coca plant and in 1862 presented to the world cocaine. Coca leaves had been chewed and brewed in teas as a mild stimulant for millennia in South America. The leaves did not transport well, however, and had not been a part of the psychoactive revolution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The processed alkaloid cocaine preserved well, however, and soon the drug was sold as a local anesthetic and became the active ingredient in cough lozenges and children's teething medicine. Cocaine was soon hailed for its stimulating and invigorating properties—Sigmund Freud and Ulysses S. Grant were two early advocates—and the substance became an active ingredient in a host of new products, including tonic beverages. A Corsican pharmacist named Angelo Mariani developed a variety of cocaine products, including Vin Mariani, in which he mixed cocaine with red wine. In the 1880s, however, a campaign to regulate specific patent medicines, much less prohibit certain narcotics, did not appear to be of grave concern in Middle Florida.[53]

As Munroe saw it, black influence on public life in the capital appeared to be hardly on the wane. While Democrats had recaptured the statehouse and governor's office, a newer generation of blacks began to come of age in the 1880s, and these young men and women refused to show the kind of public deference to whites that had been inculcated in former slaves. "Amid the motley throngs flocking to the town the old

slaves are distinguished by the respectful manner with which they touch their hats to white men whom they meet," Munroe reported, "while those of the present generation pass by with an independence of carriage that almost amounts to rudeness."[54] The desire of whites to exert greater control over public life inspired calls for yet another state constitution. Middle Florida society remained fluid and, at least on market days, remarkably integrated in the early 1880s. Conservative white Floridians desperately wanted this to change, but they were not the only group concerned about the behavior of the new generation. Leaders of Florida's black churches, especially the AME clergy, began to focus their attention on problems plaguing young families. Consumption of alcohol and tobacco became increasingly singled out for exacerbating already dire situations. Changing church leadership also reflected generational changes. Older leaders such as Charles Pearce, Thomas Long, and Robert Meachem were eclipsed by a rising group led by George Witherspoon, John Scott, and Joseph Lee. The AME Church not only emphasized temperance from the pulpit, but also helped establish black chapters of the International Order of Good Templars throughout the state. The IOGT proved to be the most active in East Florida, particularly Jacksonville, but the temperance issue resonated in Middle Florida as well. In 1878, for example, the Monticello AME congregation – with encouragement from Witherspoon – expelled Robert Meachem as minister on charges of intemperance.

More concerning, however, was the devastating effect that alcohol and tobacco had on children and young families. At the 1882 convention of the Florida Conference, AME ministers expressed grave concerns about consumption of these psychoactive substances and temperance began to replace political discussions that had dominated earlier meetings. Reverend A. M. Dudley, who reported to the convention on the state of drinking and tobacco, wrote, "a good many of our children are walking the street half naked – no hat nor shoes upon their heads or feet; yet their mothers and fathers can always find money to buy tobacco, cigars, pipes, snuff, or a bottle of whiskey . . . we are sorry to say that the bottle has destroyed more souls than even the cannon or the sword, yet the ministers of Christ are seen drinking that awful cup of hell."[55] As progress toward civil, social, and political equality slowed with each passing year, black churches became the staging ground for a long civil rights struggle. What use was political progress, ministers such as Dudley

argued, if the basic unit of the black community, the family, suffered from internal decay? Conquering the demonic powers of alcohol and tobacco use and abuse became a priority of black congregations and the hallmark of a new, progressive agenda. Ironically, these black progressives shared a temperance goal with white Floridians who desired alcohol reform for other reasons. Indeed, the opportunity to implement prohibition on the county level (local option) would emerge as part of a larger white supremacist agenda.

Florida's Jim Crow era began to dawn in 1885, when an overwhelmingly Democratic convention met in Tallahassee to revise Florida's constitution of 1868. One historian has argued that the new charter, what would become the constitution of 1885, "could well be considered a white supremacy document." Delegates established measures for a poll tax, endorsed segregated schools, and distributed gubernatorial power to local electorates in order to eliminate black political influence.[56] Delegates to the 1885 convention also considered a local option law as a county-level alternative to the state's licensing system. Antebellum reformers had proposed local option in the mid-1850s, but legislators had opposed it on grounds that such an election was unconstitutional. Licensing of taverns, billiard halls, and ten pin alleys had grown lax in the late 1850s, but had become more stringent and expensive in response to the lawlessness and racial disorder of Reconstruction. The Republican legislature in 1868 began the postbellum crackdown on offenses against chastity, morality, and decency.[57] Recapturing the state legislature in the 1870s, Conservative Democrats (sometimes called the Bourbons) embraced the existing program of blue laws by passing a Sabbatarian law, increasing liquor licensing fees, and implementing a host of other evangelical reforms to suppress gaming and disturbances of religious worship.[58] As intemperance and saloon culture continued to chafe race, class, and gender mores, however, faith in the licensing system began to wane. By the early 1880s, reformers such as the Sons of Temperance, who had long pushed for stronger legislative support, found that the appeal of local option was growing. Amid this context, delegates at the constitutional convention of 1885 approved a local option law, though the measure was later sent to voters separately.[59] Later that year, voters ratified the law. Simply put, the local option law of 1885 allowed individual counties to hold dry referenda every two years if petitioners could collect the necessary signatures in support of an elec-

tion.[60] The 1885 constitution accelerated Florida's move toward prohibition and opened the door for Jim Crow laws that disfranchised and segregated the black population. Black presence in public life in the 1870s and 1880s – despite setbacks in state politics – hampered white supremacy. The local option campaign that the new constitution enabled would in part help to restore what whites envisioned as the rightful racial hierarchy in public life.

Yet the success of the prohibition movement relied on more than the zeal of white supremacists. Black politicians and ministers weakened by the setbacks of Reconstruction found an appealing message in temperance. Public drinking could have a deleterious effect on families and congregations. Thus a new generation of politicians and ministers emerged who focused their attention on local matters such as the regulation of the local liquor trade. Beaten back from state offices, blacks retained municipal and county positions into the twentieth century. Florida's prohibition movement, now set to be waged in county local option contests, needed black political support.[61]

The two decades that followed the Civil War were characterized by great political and social flux. Middle Floridians experienced radical change in public life as the antebellum social hierarchy, which had been clearly defined along racial and class lines, was destabilized by emancipation. Blacks no longer faced restrictions on purchasing or consuming alcohol. The deleterious effects of the liquor trade concerned whites and blacks, and the overriding concern became the effect on young families. Other prohibitionist seeds were also sown during Reconstruction. Sales of patent medicines expanded once more, though surviving records of the period indicate little public concern about opiates and cocaine in the 1870s and 1880s. As Middle Florida's whites tried to regain supremacy over public life and public space, the expanded regulation and eventual prohibition of specific psychoactive substances would become part of changes ushered in by Jim Crow.

5 "Kill the beast and save the boys"

Local Option in Leon County

In 1905, Jane Chittenden fretted as she envisioned her betrothed son's wedding invitations and the impression that they would have on recipients. A woman of prominent standing in Tallahassee, Chittenden did not want anything on the invitations to misrepresent her social status – particularly to northerners on the invitation list. The wedding would take place at the Methodist church on McCarty Street, a wide boulevard in downtown Tallahassee. Since the territorial period, the thoroughfare, originally known as the "200 foot street" because of its generous width, had been a market center and social hub in the capital. In the 1850s, the city renamed the road McCarty Street, and it was this detail that troubled Chittenden. Using her influence as the president of the Tallahassee Woman's Club, Patterson requested that the city council change the street's name to Park Avenue. A "shanty Irish" address on her son's wedding invitation was simply not acceptable. The city happily complied with her request in time for her son's nuptials.[1]

As Chittenden's actions suggest, elite white women at the turn of the century wielded significant influence within the capital city's political culture. Through volunteerism and benevolent societies, these women now shaped public life in Middle Florida. Objections from clergymen

about women violating the masculine public sphere – such as John DuBose's pronouncements during the Calico Ball saga of the 1860s – no longer limited feminine efforts, which now concerned education and recreation improvements, as well as city beautification. Female participation in the predominant social reform movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, temperance and its growth into prohibition, also increased substantially. Florida's Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), founded in 1884, made notable strides along Florida's east coast and in Tampa, and helped coordinate the campaign for Leon County's first local option referendum in 1891. The saloon vote would carry the day, but thirteen years later, the drys would prevail. Middle Florida's WCTU would then turn its attention to statewide prohibition, all the while holding off wet campaigns to reopen saloons in Leon County. Women did not take over the movement, however, as the Sons of Temperance and locally organized committees campaigned for dry counties as well. When Leon County did go dry in 1904, it was the male-led Local Option League that received most of the credit for the successful outcome.[2]

Leon County and most of Middle Florida's counties approved local option referendums and voted to outlaw the sale of intoxicating liquors well in advance of the Eighteenth Amendment. The evolution from temperance to prohibition reflected a desire to bring order to a society that reformers regarded as disturbingly unstable. Yet in contrast to many other parts of the nation, Middle Florida had not experienced the dramatic urbanization, industrialization, and immigration that inspired progressive action elsewhere. The region remained overwhelmingly rural and agricultural into the first decades of the twentieth century.[3] Instead, Middle Florida's social turmoil derived from post-Reconstruction racial politics. White reactionaries aggressively pursued reversing the changes ushered in during Reconstruction. Blacks meanwhile worked to hold on to and expand hard-earned civil liberties. A return to white supremacy in Leon County would require diligence. More than 80 percent of the population in 1900 was African American.

Contemporary with the post-Reconstruction transition were ever increasing restrictions on the liquor trade. After the Florida legislature approved local option in 1885, county after county went dry in the following three decades. While race was an important factor in the local option campaigns, it was not the only issue at stake. Blacks as well as

whites pushed for the measure. African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and black Baptist ministers pushed for dry counties as did a number of black farm and business owners. Therefore other factors, such as class and gender distinctions, also shaped alcohol reform in Middle Florida. In Leon County, black and white reformers also shared another crucial characteristic: almost all were the parents of children under twenty. Emphasizing the need to provide a safe environment for their sons and daughters, prohibitionists campaigned for a dry county. In August 1904, a majority of Leon County voters agreed.

Concern for children's safety and welfare was a powerful agent for social change in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. The child-saving movement was one of the cornerstones of progressivism.[4] Moreover, scholars have begun to reveal diversity and nuances about prohibition in the South, and southern progressivism more generally. Once viewed as a white, middle-class movement, historians now recognize that catalysts of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reform came from diverse socioeconomic and racial backgrounds.[5] Middle-class whites tended to support prohibition as a means to control what they deemed volatile African American and working-class white populations. Decades of evangelical efforts to persuade individual abstinence from the evils of intoxicants had failed; legislative prohibition appeared to be their last option.[6] Black prohibitionists, most of whom were either ministers or active in churches, also believed that intemperance was sinful. Yet black reformers viewed prohibition as a means to social improvement, not social control. They believed that supporting prohibition would be an opportunity to prove their respectability and establish themselves as leaders who inculcated discipline and responsible behavior within the black community. Ultimately, they believed, prohibition would lead to greater civil rights for all African Americans.[7] A close inspection of prohibition efforts in Leon County likewise reveals biracial cooperation. Though they differed on some motives, parental aspirations and fears served as a catalyst for both white and black reformers.

Alcohol was not the only substance that found tightening regulation and ultimately prohibition in the early twentieth century. After decades of consumption with little social concern, Florida moved toward tight restrictions on the sale of opiates (including morphine and heroin) and cocaine. Unlike alcohol, these substances did not have entrenched cul-

tural traditions of public consumption and were therefore much easier to criminalize. Furthermore, the language that reformers used to describe alcohol and drugs differed as a result. Prohibitionists demonized alcohol, but their bigger beef was with the saloon and the environment in which alcohol was consumed. Reformers conceded that they could never eradicate consumption of alcohol – and some even admitted that it could be consumed responsibly. Public consumption and the liquor "traffic" was what corrupted the rising generation. In contrast, opiates and cocaine were demonized outright. The habitual narcotic or cocaine user became a "dope fiend," and responsible use was doubtful. These different attitudes helped create separate categories – alcohol and drugs – even though from a pharmacological perspective such pigeonholing makes little sense.[8]

Given that local option arrived concomitant with the racist codifications of Florida's Jim Crow era, the racial factors behind the shift to prohibition in Leon County must be considered. After dissolving during the Civil War, the Sons of Temperance had several local chapters by 1868 and then re-formed as a state organization in 1872.[9] The society continued to grow over the next ten years, and its expansion coincided with the increasing popularity of local option prohibition. At their 1885 state meeting, the Sons illustrated the need for dry counties with the harrowing stories of black saloons destroying the lives of young white men. Worthy Scribe F. Starr Gregory reported to the state division that Madison County had recently suffered a tragic loss. He cried, "look at the effects of what rum did, in the death of one of our most talented, and amiable young men, at the hands of two negroes, and how our town was stirred from center to circumference by it." Summing up the event, Gregory concluded that "Rum was the cause of this." More gruesome was the demise of a white brick mason in Madison who, in the parlance of the nineteenth-century tavern world, had "lost his rudder" at a popular black grog shop and stumbled home waywardly. The mason's "weakness was his love of strong drink," Starr recounted. The young man had traveled to a black saloon "to procure his supply of whiskey, and, while returning, laid down on the track, and fell in a drunken sleep, from which he never woke. The train came thundering along, and he was soon a mangled corpse, being instantly killed."[10] In the minds of many white Floridians, the black saloon's deleterious effect on white manhood made a convincing argument for prohibition indeed.

The Sons of Temperance helped keep the temperance issue alive, but the organization's members occasionally undermined their efforts. Florida newspapers contained jokes that Sons fell off the wagon during the holidays and would have to repledge their teetotalism in the New Year. To help with the problem of holiday drinking, the Sons classified eggnog as a food; thereby members would not break the abstinence pledge, which only referred to beverages. Despite the charges of hypocrisy, the Sons clearly articulated a justification for prohibition based on racial social control, a message that would sway white Floridians.

Black on black violence in and around saloons drew less white consternation, but still garnered some concern and legal attention. In 1880, William Harrison, a black bartender in Tallahassee, knifed one of his patrons, a driver named George Mitchell, after a heated argument. The saloon keeper allegedly stabbed Mitchell in the back, leaving a gaping, but not fatal, wound. Rather than report the story with alarm, however, the Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian* recounted the incident mockingly, calling the fracas a "cutting affray." Perhaps the conservative paper felt the matter would be judiciously meted out in court, as the sheriff had promptly arrested and jailed Harrison. Had the victim been a young white man, concern from the white public would have almost certainly been much more grave.[11]

In November 1903, for example, an incident at Hutto's Store in Miccosukee drew greater attention and sense of alarm from the white public. A crowd of blacks who, according to the *Weekly Floridian*, had been "drinking home made wine quite freely," gathered at the rural crossroads store on a Saturday night. Allegedly one man in the group became so obnoxious and threatening that one of Hutto's white employees decided to suppress the man's behavior with martial force. The clerk grabbed a club and "gave the Negro a sound thrashing," which was, the paper editorialized, "just what he needed." In response to the attack the revelers left the store, but soon formed a mob in the street. Fearing the consequences of what appeared to be the makings of a race riot, white store owners closed their businesses and, more important, "armed themselves for trouble."[12] The crowd, which included women and men, shouted threats at the white businesses, but ultimately dispersed before anyone reciprocated the clerk's violence. In the following days, as county law enforcement officers arrested fourteen black men for their role in disturbing the peace, rumors of a budding race war swept

the countryside. The conservative newspaper tried to quell these concerns by assuring readers that white supremacy still and would henceforth continue to rule:

> We do not anticipate any more trouble, and regret that it has gone out to the world that we had such an ugly race riot. The temper of the people of this county is too well known to permit these things to brew, to excess. The negroes are treated right, they are given everything they are entitled to, but the past testifies eloquently to the fact that our people will brood no meddling by them, and they would be fools to commence a riot, for it could mean nothing to them but extermination and that in the shortest possible time. This statement is made in no threatening spirit, but simply to repeat the warnings of the days of reconstruction, when it would not be permitted even while they had white leaders.

By referencing the white regulators of the late 1860s and 1870s, the paper assured the white public that Leon County blacks knew rioting would be suicidal. The paper blamed the incident on intoxicants, declaring that "wine caused it all," thereby connecting black alcohol consumption with quixotic attacks on white supremacy.[13]

Unlike the owners of the Miccosukee store, most Leon County saloon keepers at the turn of the century – like the county's population generally – were black. Compared to antebellum Florida, when state and local laws banned alcohol sales to slaves and free blacks and no African Americans could legally tend bar, this postbellum reversal was stunning (see table 2). By 1885, six black men sold liquor as either retailers or saloon keepers in the county and by the turn of the century their number had grown to seven. Though the total population increased between 1860 and 1900, saloon keepers and liquor dealers expanded at a far greater rate (see tables 3 and 4).

Perhaps more frightening to white observers was the cluster of black-run grog shops within the city of Tallahassee. In 1885, for example, only two of the county's six black bartenders – John Reams and William Leggins – lived in rural Leon. In addition to black saloons and liquor stores, several black-owned restaurants and barbershops had appeared in downtown Tallahassee. Between 1885 and 1900, the number of black restaurateurs increased from one to four.[14] Sanborn Fire Insurance maps reveal that two of these black restaurants opened for business in downtown Tallahassee. One such establishment opened on

Table 2. Leon County liquor dealers by race, 1860–1900

Liquor dealers	*1860*	*1870*	*1885*	*1900*
Black	0	1	6	7
White	2	3	2	4
Total	2	4	8	11

Sources: Federal Census of Florida, 1860, 1870, and 1900, Florida State Archives; Census of the State of Florida, 1885, Florida State Archives.

Table 3. Leon County population growth versus liquor dealers, 1860–1900

Category	*1860*	*1870*	*1885*	*1900*
Liquor dealers	2	4	8	11
Total population	12,343	15,236	19,662	19,887

Sources: Federal Census of Florida, 1860, 1870, and 1900, Florida State Archives; Census of the State of Florida, 1885, Florida State Archives.

Table 4. Racial composition of Leon County population, 1860–1900

	White		*Black*		
Year	*Pop.*	*Pct.*	*Pop.*	*Pct.*	*Total*
1860	3,194	25	9,149	75	12,343
1870	2,895	19	12,341	81	15,236
1880	2,822	14	16,840	86	19,662
1900	3,886	19.5	16,001	80.5	19,887

Source: Federal Census of Florida, 1860, 1870, and 1900, Florida State Archives.

Jefferson Street, one block from the state capitol (see figure 7). Over the last decades of the nineteenth century, black-run saloons and restaurants sprouted throughout town and country. As Florida's Bourbons and their allies worked to reverse civil rights that freedmen had earned during Reconstruction, blacks in Leon County became more and more prevalent in spaces that had long been integral to white political culture.

Besides the businesses run by black men, independent-minded black women also threatened white elites and offered economic competition in the last quarter of the century. In 1889, for example, Charles Dyke Jr., editor of the *Weekly Floridian*, ran a satirical but searing editorial against African American domestic cooks in which he built on centuries of racist discourse on African womanhood. Dyke charged that as a whole, these women, whom he described as brutish and beast-like, wielded "immense power in Tallahassee."[15] The editor took particular umbrage at the women's brassy behavior downtown, where "to see a knot of negro women on a street corner earnestly talking or wildly gesticulating is no unusual sight in Tallahassee." These "Daughters of Erebus," as Dyke mockingly named the women, allegedly gathered on Saturdays to complain about the white women for whom they worked and to encourage one another to be insubordinate employees. The editorial read:

> They had organized by electing Chloe Johnson as chairman. Chloe weighs 200, is as black as Erebus, and her lips resemble two wiener-wursts stuck on the outer edges of the upper and lower compartments of her grits manipulator. She had just called the meeting to order. The audience was a conglomeration of black and yellow females in all degrees of frowsiness [sic] and greasiness. "Dis is a meetin' ob de lady wittle manip'lators ob Tallahassee. Its 'sign is to 'low de free spression ob complaints agin de white ladies you colored ladies lib wid, and to tell ob vict'ries won over dese same white women . . ." Millie Jefferson, another midnight maiden, who cooks meals when she feels like it in a boardinghouse patronized by mechanics who are compelled to go to work at a regular hour, spit out her dipstick and spoke without rising from the ground: "Yes ladies, we must show em', I sasses de misses all I like and whenever I pleases. What she gwine do about it? Can't do nuffin. Heard her tell nudder woman: ''Twont do no good to fire Millie. Ernudder would be worse.' I tell yer we got em."

Besides flouting their "victories" over white women, Dyke also charged that the domestics neglected white children in their care by allowing

Figure 7. Downtown Tallahassee, 1895. Saloons, African American restaurants, and a billiards and card room in downtown Tallahassee. Source: Sanborn Map Company, Florida fire insurance maps, Tallahassee, 1895.

them to play in the street amid passing horses, "or endanger their lives and limbs in other ways." While the women "jabber[ed] away in their heathenish lingo," white infants sat in carriages facing the hot sun. At one point in the meeting, Dyke claimed that Chloe Johnson paused and "squirted a collection of tobacco juice into the left ear of a passing child" and then proceeded with business.[16]

Obstreperous behavior and negligent childcare were not the only alleged offenses committed by the Daughters of Erebus. The newspaper charged that the city's African American cooks frequently found reasons for being absent at dinner time, causing their white employers to prepare their own meals or eat cold leftovers. "Of course they always have an excuse. They have been to a picnic, or a funeral, at church or in the country. These little outings are of much more importance than the white folks they are paid to work for." Indignant, the editor cried in protest, "under the present situation, they are the boss of the situation." Whether or not black cooks in Leon County had actually formed a quasi union as the newspaper charged cannot be verified, but black women had already led similar strikes in other New South communities. Black washerwomen in Galveston, Texas, Jackson, Mississippi, and Atlanta, Georgia, had led strikes in 1866, 1877, and 1881 respectively.[17] A more likely possibility was that Dyke – certainly aware of the other incidents – made up the story to inflame white readers. Clearly he invented the outrageous dialogue; if such an organization existed, it would not permit a white man to listen in on their proposed machinations. The organization's name – an esoteric allusion to a dark, purgatory-like region in the mythological Greek underworld – was clearly pejorative and reeked of fabrication. Whatever the extent of their unionization, black women in Tallahassee clearly challenged white supremacy. The way in which women like Chloe Johnson, who may have just been the editor's created archetype, employed their freedoms for their own ends infuriated the white public: "The big tunnel-faced woman who presided at the previous meeting [Johnson] was there. Her open beaming countenance seemed to pervade the whole assemblage with a sense of freedom and independence."[18]

Black women had a visible public presence in Tallahassee and, as the editorials in the newspaper suggested, their actions threatened and exasperated local whites. Black women were much more likely to work outside of their own homes in comparison to white women. In 1885, all

eight of the county's midwives were black. Also that year, eighteen of the county's nineteen nurses, who were most likely nannies rather than health-care workers, were black. African American women also dominated laundry work, a poorly paid vocation but one that allowed considerable mobility and personal freedom. The only occupation that black and white women shared at almost equal numbers was that of seamstress.[19] The *Weekly Floridian*'s venomously racist editorials protested the independence and influence that black women, long abused in Middle Florida's social order, now had. Whereas female slaves had been at the lowest rung of antebellum society, the newspaper cried out that in some respects black women now had more control over their labors than white women.[20]

Local newspapers also brought readers' attention to black women's power within their own homes, but found this influence far less threatening and even amusing. Judging from the tongue-in-cheek descriptions of African American henpecking, the white public took great pleasure in witnessing the emasculating treatment that black heads of household suffered. In one such article, titled "Doings in Darkytown," the *Weekly Floridian* described a cacophonous domestic squabble in which a woman physically dominated her husband and gave "her lawful lord and master a sound thrashing" in the couple's home. In the early stages of the struggle, it appeared that the husband had the upper hand, but "the angry wife succeeded in getting John in a convenient position across the bed and began using a twelve-inch piece of base board to good effect, a proceeding made anything but difficult by John's condition." While the details of John's condition were not clearly explained, drunkenness would be the most likely explanation because there was not an allusion to an ailment anywhere else in the article.[21] Therefore in this specific instance, an inebriated black man and a powerful black woman held no threat to the white population of Tallahassee. Instead, the hyperbolic story developed another misguided trope – that black families were dysfunctional.

Alleged African American domestic squabbles aside, black integration of white public space, both male and female, challenged conservative whites' attempts to reestablish a white supremacist social order. Undoubtedly, these racial issues factored into the growing support for prohibition. They were not, however, the only motivation for stringent reform. Another problem plaguing Florida communities, according to

Figure 8. An African American nurse in Tallahassee holds a white baby, ca. 1885–1910. Source: Alvan Harper Collection, Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

the Sons of Temperance, were market days – typically Saturdays – when "country people" traveled into Middle Florida towns like Madison, Monticello, and Tallahassee. After trading their produce, the Sons complained, the farmers soaked up their earnings in liquor. "King Alcohol reigned supreme in noisy demonstrations," F. Starr Gregory reported of the situation in Madison. "Especially this was the case on Saturdays, when the town would be filled with country people. The natural consequence being, that a good many got inebriated, accompanied by loud talking, ill-natured quarrels about the most trivial matter, always ending in blows between some of the parties, and frequently a free fight, when somebody would be arrested for disturbing the peace." Kirk Munroe's 1882 article in *Harper's Weekly* had indicated that market days were problematic because of the black presence in town, but the Sons blamed unruly whites in these instances.

Besides the disruptions in the town, the Sons of Temperance complained that the aftershock of market day drinking damaged the home lives of Middle Florida families as well. "Some of the country people," Starr complained, "*rarely*, if ever, went home in a sober condition to their families. Numerous instances could be cited to prove this, but it is unnecessary, as the particulars are still fresh in the minds of the people."[22] The tension between the Sons of Temperance, who were typically town-dwelling merchants and small business owners, and the rural-dwelling small farmers revealed another rub – a town and country divide that also ran along class lines – besides the racial component. Similar stress existed in Tallahassee. Rural dwellers who invaded the capital on market days disrupted life. By the 1890s, the city established ordinances that restricted where visiting farmers could hitch and graze their horses. The city enclosed parks that had become de facto pastures and camping grounds on Saturdays. The issue was a delicate one, though. The city clearly thrived on the trade that farmers brought to town.[23]

While the Sons complained of disruptive white country people, an emerging black middle class found incidents of black public drunkenness and disorder embarrassing. As activists and public figures pushing for civil rights, they believed that such behavior only gave conservative whites fodder to justify white supremacy. Black ministers had always endorsed temperate deportment, but actual reform had heretofore been secondary to the primary economic and political issues during Reconstruction. By the 1880s and 1890s, disfranchisement and the gradual

elimination of black public officials made temperance and even prohibition a more realistic and tangible campaign. Unlike political and civil equality, which by 1900 seemed unrealistic goals, black leaders could believe that drying up their community – a reform that they felt would lead to stabilized families and social advancement in the long run – could become a reality.[24]

From church pulpits and in the "colored department" of the *Weekly Tallahassean*, a column in the newspaper written by and for local African Americans, black prohibitionists argued their case for a dry county. Saloons destroyed black families, they declared, and any honest person would acknowledge that simple fact. "Look around and count the men who have lost good homes and made their families paupers in the community by their use of whiskey," the author of one such article pleaded with readers. The liquor problem had become so endemic, the writer argued, that moral suasion through temperance societies was a woefully inadequate response to the problem. Furthermore, the writer charged that saloons had begun to snare female as well as male patrons, creating a sexually charged milieu that reeked of disorder:

> Who visits the saloon now? Are you watching the signs of the times? Not only are men lurking around these vile places, but boys and even women selling of liquors, that it makes the dare to enter them. It is said that in a certain town of the G. F. and A. [Georgia, Florida, and Alabama] Railroad it is a common thing to see women in the bar rooms drinking whiskey right along with the men. Bad habits are like some diseases, they are contagious. When the law and the people endorse such action as this, then the climax has been reached.[25]

Middle-class blacks also began to discourage Emancipation Day celebrations, which in Florida freedmen traditionally celebrated on May 20, the anniversary of General Edwin McCook's 1865 reading of the Emancipation Proclamation in Tallahassee. By the early 1900s, some middle-class blacks began to insist that it should be moved to January 1. Though the early emancipation celebrations had been praised by Democratic and Republican newspapers as model examples of public behavior, middle-class blacks by the turn of the century believed that May 20 had become too rowdy. Increasingly, Emancipation Day had become a source of embarrassment to some middle-class blacks. Early parades and speeches had been carefully scripted by black ministers, but over time

parties and barbecues began to take on a life of their own. One writer in the *Weekly Tallahassean*'s colored department insisted that emancipation should be celebrated on January 1, not May 20. Though McCook had read the proclamation on May 20, 1865, its origins dated to January 1, 1863, when Abraham Lincoln declared it in effect. In fact, New Year's Day had long been an anniversary to celebrate freedom. Blacks in the antebellum free states feted the day as the anniversary of emancipation in the British Empire: January 1, 1834.[26]

Moving Florida's Emancipation Day to New Year's was partly an attempt to regain control over the holiday. In 1904, a black reporter remarked that "all intelligent colored citizens will join in the celebration of January 1, and leave the other class to their idol." The writer continued that the "most thoughtful colored people of Tallahassee and vicinity" chose January 1 as Emancipation Day. That year, "the parade was tasteful and unique, and reflected much credit upon the progressive citizens."[27] The efforts to control festivals celebrating black freedom reflected the same impetus that inspired black temperance reform. Though some May 20 celebrants most likely resented being told that their parties were idolatrous, Leon County's black middle-class leaders believed that they had the best interests of black civil rights in mind.

By 1904, Leon County had strong biracial support for local option and most public figures supporting the initiative were men. While Leon County's WCTU had taken the lead in the local option election in 1891, the male-led Local Option League coordinated this second dry referendum. The WCTU did sponsor an occasional newspaper column and wrote editorials decrying the need to enforce the county's Sabbatarian law.[28] Women in Leon County had, over the last quarter of the nineteenth century, led other progressive community projects. Through churches and civic organizations, women pervaded the public sphere and shaped the town's development. As early as 1891, a group of white women known as the Tallahassee Improvement Association petitioned the city council for park improvements.[29] By 1903, five prominent white women formed the Woman's Club, an organization with a similar dedication to city beautification.[30] Soon burgeoning to more than one hundred members, the group pressured local government to build new sidewalks, improve local schools, preserve existing parks, and clean up public spaces.[31] Along the way, women like Jane Chittenden could use the precedent of influence that women's community service had estab-

lished and pressure local government to change the name of a prominent street. Through petitions and public campaigns, the Woman's Club brought progressivism to the forefront and helped pave the way for more dramatic and drastic measures, namely local option prohibition.

Yet the thread running through the women's community service was their overriding desire for a healthy environment for children. It was this concern that served as the most powerful catalyst in Leon County's dry campaign. Unlike other Florida cities, particularly Tampa and Jacksonville, where foreign-born residents flocked in greater numbers, the predominant nativity of Tallahassee's residents in the early twentieth century – whether white or black – was the United States (see table 5). Nativist, particularly anti-German and anti-Irish, sentiments that fueled prohibition efforts elsewhere did not emerge as a major issue in Middle Florida. Although several turn-of-the-century saloon keepers in Tallahassee were German, including Isadore Marcus, Jacob Ball, and Alexander Jacobs, their taverns did not cater to a large foreign-born patronage and their barrooms did not serve as rallying points for immigrant politics.[32] In short, their saloons did not threaten existing power relationships. In fact, the biggest charge leveled against a foreign-born saloon keeper in the years prior to the dry referendum was selling beer to a minor. In that case against Marcus's Barroom, published accounts of the offense did not even mention that Isadore Marcus hailed from Germany.[33] Tellingly, it was the corruption of youth, not the foreign corruption of politics, that was the issue involved.

Though ethnic diversity was not a factor in Leon County drinking culture, Tallahassee's turn-of-the-century hotels and taverns continued a trend of gentrification that began in the 1840s. New hotels, such as the St. James and the Leon, advertised elite amenities in their appeals for legislator patronage. The hotels also competed for tourist dollars as Florida emerged as a winter vacation destination for wealthy northerners. Built in the 1880s, the Leon Hotel eclipsed the City Hotel as Tallahassee's premier accommodation. The City Hotel, a hub of the capital's political culture since the 1840s, had been in severe decline since the early 1870s, when the establishment served as the unofficial headquarters of a Republican political faction known as the Osborn Ring, a group that Bourbons blamed for the racial discord and Jackson County War. The City Hotel became associated with this unfortunate era in Florida history and therefore tainted as a result.[34] In its last years, a widow, Mary S.

Table 5. Nativity statistics for 1900 from select Florida counties

	Native-born		*Foreign-born*		
County	*Pop.*	*Pct.*	*Pop.*	*Pct.*	*Total*
Duval	38,288	96.3	1,445	3.7	39,733
Hillsborough	28,605	79.4	7,408	20.6	36,013
Leon	19,787	99.5	100	.5	19,887

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.* Volume I, Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901).

Archer, owned the City Hotel but the hostelry's days as a vibrant inn had passed.[35]

In contrast, the Tallahassee Hotel Company began plans to build "a large and fashionable hotel" in the late 1870s, and the city council eagerly offered incentives to make the project a reality. The city granted the company land on the corner of Monroe and McCarty streets and exempted what would become the Leon Hotel from city taxes in its first five years of business.[36] The hotel featured a wood-paneled entrance hall, luxurious sitting rooms, and a handsomely appointed dining room for guests and other patrons. With convenience in mind, the hotel also featured a telegraph office and barbershop. The owners also landscaped the green spaces outside of the hotel by planting roses, hyacinths, and tulips. They proudly considered it a "parlor hotel." Conspicuously absent from the Leon's plan, however, was the barroom. In a trend that the city's St. James Hotel also followed, the barroom sat across the street separating, perhaps, the rough from the refined.[37]

Even though elite hotels began to divide drinking spaces from their other accommodations, the hotels' separate saloons were not the coarse taverns of antebellum Florida. In fact, the name "saloon" was meant to conjure images of European salons as opposed to the more humble tavern. Besides the hotel saloons, other independent barrooms also accommodated a more affluent clientele. While hotels had always prided themselves in stocking choice whiskey and champagne, taverns had become known primarily as grog shops peddling cheap liquor. By the late nineteenth century, however, several fashionable saloons such as Jacob's clearly did not cater to the working class. These barrooms also tried to distinguish themselves from the negative reputation that had long plagued drinking establishments. One Tallahassee business owner informed consumers that he would never serve the adulterated

Figure 9. The Leon Hotel, Tallahassee's premier hostelry, ca. 1906. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

Figure 10. Parlor of the Leon Hotel, ca. 1906. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

Figure 11. Jacob's Bar in Tallahassee, ca. 1900. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

liquor that became common during the Civil War and Reconstruction and patrons could expect only the finest wines and liquors.[38] Other bars installed wood paneling, statuary, and decorative light fixtures to create an upscale atmosphere. Such refinement served to stratify further drinking spaces. In the antebellum period, socially stratified drinking spaces created a sense of order that quelled desires for prohibition. At the turn of the century, however, the proliferation of black saloons and the Saturday influx of the black and white rural population overshadowed any sense of order that gentrification provided.

In opposition to the growing local option sentiments, the saloon keepers had tradition on their side. Public drinking had always been an integral part of Middle Florida political culture. Yet beginning in June 1903, Leon County saloons suffered a media barrage against their trade when the *Weekly Tallahasseean* published a series of articles by the late Midwestern prohibitionist John B. Finch. Appealing to a dualistic evangelical worldview, Finch had argued that the liquor trade could only be good or evil. The evidence, according to Finch, clearly indicated that the trade

damaged society by fostering crime, disease, and poverty. Therefore, the liquor traffic would destroy Christian civilization if Americans did not destroy the trade first.[39] Though Finch often wrote nativist tracts that decried the tendency of saloons to serve as immigrant political caucuses, those selections were minimized in the Tallahassee paper. The clear theme of Finch's selections published locally was the need to protect young families from dram shops. "We know how the father gave the best years of his life and the mother her girlhood bloom to develop the bright brave boy," one article read. "Save the drunkard and prevent drunkenness. Kill the beast and save the boys."[40] Saloons served as "schools of perjury" that degraded honorable manhood by inducing young men to defend a barkeeper that they knew had ruined their lives.[41]

The emphasis on family and the need to protect young men became the rallying cry for Leon County's local option movement. The following year, whites and blacks formed separate committees known as Local Option Leagues and successfully petitioned for a dry referendum to be held in August. Though segregated, leaders in the two leagues had much in common. Invariably they hailed from the middle class as farm or business owners. A few, such as John Riley (black) and A. A. Murphree (white), were educators. The wives of league members were homemakers. Almost all of them were the parents of young children. Given their common background, the emphasis on family and children in the prohibition literature was not surprising.[42]

While the leadership of both leagues was entirely male, women certainly worked alongside their husbands in the campaign. Two men on the white local option committee, W. L. Moor and G. W. Saxon, were married to leaders in the Woman's Club. Furthermore, the local WCTU chapter did publish articles and hold monthly meetings in the weeks leading up to the election. In some instances, the women mocked the notion of separate spheres and the idea of limiting feminine influence to the home. "During all the years in which men have been trying to find out woman's 'sphere,' and trying to keep her in the old boundaries they have prescribed for her, she has been quietly preparing herself for a much wider field," wrote one woman under the pseudonym "White Ribboner." Over time, she continued, woman had "enter[ed] every field within her reach until the old boundaries had been obliterated and she perceives her 'sphere' to be as broad as the suffering of humanity."[43]

Even so, White Ribboner declared that rules for feminine behavior in public life remained. She concluded that women could "go anywhere and do any service, provided she does it in a womanly manner."[44] In this closing comment, White Ribboner revealed a significant caveat in her definition of femininity. In her allusion to "womanly behavior," she distinguished her group from working-class women such as the disorderly Daughters of Erebus who had allegedly disturbed the white public's peace in previous years. Thus, the WCTU column revealed both the advancements and limitations of a woman's movement in Leon County. Working-class black women and the white women of the WCTU and Woman's Club shared similar aims of female public advancement, but their shared goals were hamstrung by their lack of cooperation.[45]

Nevertheless, the local option campaign in 1904 had the organization and influential support to carry a majority vote. Saloon keepers mounted a public campaign of their own, however, and did not forfeit their trade quietly. In a paid advertisement signed by "Common Sense," Leon County saloon keepers expressed their point of view in the *Weekly Tallahasseean*. The dry movement was a chimera that threatened cherished freedoms, they argued. Prohibition also defied laws of nature because mankind's use of stimulants dated to the dawn of civilization. "The Prohibitionists are arguing against what they foolishly imagine to be a frivolous habit of man," Common Sense wrote, "but they will yet learn that they are running counter to an immutable decree of God [by] trying to alter the physical constitution of the human race by means of local option elections." The licensing system effectively regulated a trade that would continue whether or not prohibition laws existed. Costly licenses enriched local coffers; revenue would have to be raised by other taxes if prohibition went into effect. In short, the impact on the local economy would be catastrophic. Finally and perhaps more frighteningly, if people were denied liquor, they would find an alternative in more dangerous substances such as opium, morphine, or cocaine.[46]

In the long build-up to prohibition, reformers painted a detailed picture of alcohol and divided it into categories of fermented versus distilled, or vinous versus spirituous. Wine and beer were safer than whiskey and rum; the higher the alcohol content, the more dangerous the substance. In a society such as Middle Florida where many types of alcohol consumption had entrenched traditions, reformers knew that they could not eradicate consumption entirely, but they did believe that they

could shape how and where alcohol was consumed and, they hoped, by whom. During the unsuccessful 1891 local option campaign, Reverend J. P. De Pass lectured on the evils of the saloon in Tallahassee. He boldly told his audience that "God had ordained the destruction of the liquor traffic." Yet after the lecture he admitted to newspaper editor Charles DaCosta that prohibition would never eradicate consumption. "Dr. De Pass said that the prohibitionists knew they could not stop whisky drinking; they did not expect to do that; they wanted to drive out the saloon keepers – to put a stop to crime. He considers whisky just as important to have in the house as calomel; but he thought whisky drinking ought to be done at home and not at saloons." Prohibitionists understood that the environment in which liquor was consumed mattered as much as its psychoactive properties. The simultaneous desire to criminalize narcotics, however, was based on a much less sophisticated understanding of opiates and cocaine.[47]

The sudden demonization of opiates and cocaine reflected in Common Sense's article was consistent with national and international concerns about these substances. Hailed in the preceding decades and miraculous patent medicines, opium, morphine, heroin, and cocaine became tightly regulated and nonmedical use criminalized by law. A year before Leon County outlawed saloons, the state legislature prohibited the sale of cocaine without a doctor's prescription.[48] Then in 1905, the Florida legislature criminalized opium smoking and established stringent penalties against anyone involved in the trade as sellers or consumers. Four years later, the legislature criminalized nonmedical sales of all forms of narcotics and cocaine. Consumers could still obtain tinctures of opium with a doctor's prescription. Ironically, these dosages had a more powerful narcotic effect compared to the more mildly sedating opium pipe. The striking and rapid prohibition of narcotics and cocaine passed by with little social commentary, and Florida evidently followed national trends in which cocaine and the opiates had become associated with outsiders – particularly new immigrants and blacks. In some New South communities, cocaine use had become associated with virulent black masculinity. In Middle Florida, however, there was little public consternation about "drug use" before their criminalization. In the case of alcohol and whether or not to close saloons, however, prohibitionists and supporters of open barrooms debated the issue openly for years.

Indeed, in the week leading up to the 1904 referendum, wet and dry proponents held rallies at different precincts throughout the county. Supporters of both sides traveled to the county to lend support, viewing Leon County as critical to their respective causes. By 1904, twenty-seven of forty-six Florida counties had opted to go dry, but most of these counties were sparsely settled. All of the counties with important cities and significant populations remained wet. Monroe (Key West), Escambia (Pensacola), Franklin (Apalachicola), Hillsborough (Tampa), and Duval (Jacksonville) remained in the saloon keepers column.[49] Besides hosting the state capital, Leon County boasted one of the highest population totals statewide in 1900.[50] Voting the once infamously intemperate capital dry would be a major coup for prohibitionists in the state.

At one wet rally in Chaires (eastern Leon County), the saloon forces opted to cancel their speeches when several prominent dry proponents arrived and challenged them to a debate. The two sides discussed terms and rules, but then the wet side decided to decline the offer. The saloon men feared, according to one newspaper account, that "the 'drys' might, in their replies, indulge in personalities which would occasion results which they thought would be best to avoid." The wets decided to avoid speaking altogether and prevent what could be an ugly confrontation. Since the dry men had come out to respond to the pro-saloon presentation, the gathering soon dispersed.[51] Though no violence erupted at any campaign event, tension ran high in the week leading up to Election Day, August 30. In response, the city saw fit to employ extra policemen to enforce order.[52]

Both sides tried to influence voters at the polls. The dry supporters handed out lemonade and the wets served free lunches. Each side had bands playing and banners flying at the precincts. Somewhat surprisingly given the intense build-up to the vote, police reported no trouble related to voting in the county. In addition, turnout was modest. The tight race, however, did not surprise. The two city precincts had a narrow wet majority, and the county precincts slightly favored prohibition. By a slim 120-vote majority, the dry cause had won. After canvassing the votes late the following day, county commissioners ordered the saloons closed, effective immediately. Leon County had joined the Noble Experiment.[53]

The long association of public drinking and political culture in Florida's capital helped delay local option slightly longer compared to most

counties in the plantation belt. An editorialist in the *Tampa Tribune* quipped that politicians would not know what to do when they attended their first legislative session in a dry Leon County. "Think of the Honorable Senator from Wayback and the Honorable Representative from the Tall and Uncut deliberating upon the great issues of State without the privilege of an occasional dampening of the gullet with the cup that cheers," the column read. "Verily," it continued, "those who must go to Tallahassee next session must have their trousers made to order with special reference to deep and roomy pockets – about one-quart capacity."[54] Elsewhere in Middle Florida, other counties had opted to go dry soon after local option became constitutional in 1885. By the turn of the century, a number of factors popularized prohibition in Leon County. Unruly farmers disrupted Tallahassee on Saturday market days and irritated business owners in the town. The emergence of black saloons clearly made many influential white citizens uncomfortable. Some of the most vocal critics of the black liquor trade were black ministers and more prominent African Americans who believed that temperance was a stepping stone to greater civil and political advancement.

Undoubtedly, biracial support factored heavily in local option's success. Both white and black prohibitionists believed that saloons presented an obstacle to honorable manhood and weakened the family. Even though by 1904 many blacks chose not to vote for fear of vigilante reprisal or had been disfranchised by the poll tax, Jim Crow never completely destroyed the black franchise.[55] Thus in a county with an 80 percent black population, biracial support was critical. Prohibitionists also credited the influence of feminine mores as a benefit to their cause. Women's public influence through clubs and societies had helped bring adolescence to the center of public concern. Even so, as had been the case with the temperance movement since the 1840s, women themselves were not directing players in the local option campaign. No women marched in the streets or delivered speeches at dry rallies. Instead, their public efforts to persuade voters looked backward to nineteenth-century norms of domesticity. On Election Day, for example, women's boldest political statement was to serve lemonade.

After Leon County went dry in 1904, almost all of Middle Florida had voted to close its saloons and ban the sale of alcoholic beverages. The saloon keepers did not go quietly, however. They petitioned the county to hold another referendum in 1907, but the commission ruled that the

petitioners had forged many of the signatures and rejected the motion. In 1911, the commission received another petition, this one gathered by Gadsden County's John O'Neil and delivered to the Leon County Commission by his attorney E. C. Love, but the commission once again rejected the submission – this time based on an insufficient number of signatures. Yet several months later Love returned with another petition and this time the board accepted. The commission scheduled the local option election for July 10, 1912.[56]

The campaign to keep Tallahassee dry in 1912 featured many of the same themes of the election eight years earlier. Yet while reformers had emphasized that saving boys from saloons was paramount in 1904, saving the girls was the overriding issue in 1912. As it turned out, local option could not deter boys from liquor, as illegal dram shops nicknamed "blind tigers" sold whiskey to young men who would pay. Local prohibitionists applauded increased law enforcement to crack down on these speakeasies, but suggested vigilantism might be necessary to stamp out the underground traffic.[57] Reopening licensed saloons would be worse, Milton Smith, the prohibitionist editor of the *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, argued. Open barrooms would rely on the patronage of young men. Impersonating a saloon keeper, Smith satirized the trade in verse: "I want a boy who is not afraid / To start right on the downward grade / A boy who is always very brave / For he must fill a drunkard's grave."[58] Protecting the boys was a justification for keeping the saloons closed, but a local committee known as the Anti Bar Room League – made up of many of the same people as the Local Option League of 1904 – emphasized the impact that legalizing the traffic would have on the young women of Tallahassee. Specifically, they argued that a wet county could threaten the existence of Florida State College for Women (FSCW).

FSCW traced its institutional roots to an antebellum seminary, but had been a four-year liberal arts college known as Florida State College since 1901. The school was co-ed until 1905, when the school became an all-female college in conjunction with the creation of the all-male University of Florida in Gainesville.[59] In 1912, FSCW administrators argued that a return to a wet county would be disastrous for the school. President Joseph Conradi was a leading member of the Anti Bar Room League and presided over the group's membership committee. Conradi spoke at prohibition rallies, and two weeks before the election published a front-page editorial on behalf of the dry cause. He argued that par-

ents would be reluctant to send their daughters to school in Tallahassee if barrooms became legal. "If this election had been advertized during June and July 1905," Conradi wrote, "the location of the College would have been jeopardized if not impossible . . . Tallahassee is an ideal place for a college. And of course everybody expects Tallahassee and Leon County to live up to the responsibility they assumed when the college was placed here." Conradi concluded his letter pleading the dry cause. "The high esteem in which the community is now held by the people of the state will, however, receive a severe shock if the citizens here declare in favor of the open bar-room, and the State College for Women will lose a large part of the warm sympathy and support it is now receiving from all over the state."[60]

Protecting white feminine purity was the overriding theme in the 1912 referendum. Besides Conradi's exhortations, the *Semi-Weekly True Democrat* published reports from around the state, which expressed concerns about the female college being located in a wet county. State Representative Walter Singletary of Grand Ridge, for example, wrote the paper that he intended to send his daughters to FSCW, but would not allow them to attend the school if the county went wet. "Tallahassee has one of the State Colleges, and the one where our girls are to be educated, and I think it is an insult to the State of Florida, and to the patrons of the College outside of Leon County to allow open bar rooms," he argued. A wet county was simply not an environment suitable for young white women, Singletary contended. A wet county was simply an inappropriate place for "where the fairest of all of our families must go to get their education."[61] Happily for Singletary, Leon County voters rejected the wet referendum on July 9, 1912, and the capital city allegedly remained a haven for feminine morality. Leading the campaign for the white daughters of the state, however, once again was a rostrum full of prominent men. The WCTU received little public acknowledgment of the work on behalf of prohibition.

By 1912, the temperance movement in Middle Florida began to focus on statewide prohibition. In the meantime, liquor dealers in the remaining wet holdouts expanded their mail order businesses to accommodate demand in the dry counties. Likewise, druggists in dry counties found that prohibition could be profitable. Narcotics sales might have been hamstrung by increased regulations, but they now had the market cornered in the form of "medicinal" liquor prescriptions. Not

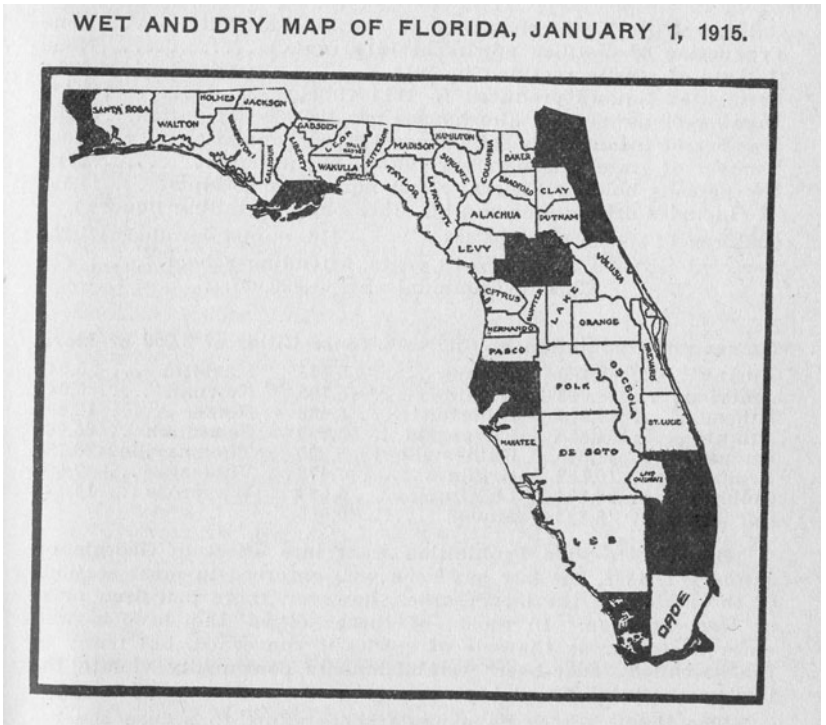

Figure 12. Anti-Saloon League map of Florida, 1915. The black areas are the remaining wet counties. Franklin County is the black region jutting southward from the central panhandle.

surprisingly, Tallahassee druggists supported keeping Leon County dry in 1912.[62] While Middle Florida rode the prohibition wave that swept the nation, support for woman suffrage in the region increased, but still lagged behind that of most states. Women's influence in public life had expanded in the twentieth century, but extending that influence to the ballot box would have to come from the outside – in the form of a constitutional amendment.

After Leon County survived the temptation to go wet again in 1912, another Middle Florida county prepared to join the dry column. Franklin County, with its maritime culture and burgeoning industry, resisted prohibition long after the rest of Middle Florida had closed saloons. How and why this county chose to finally go dry is the focus of chapter 6.

6 "Good order"

Local Option in Franklin County

Throngs of townspeople lined the docks along Apalachicola's Water Street. On a clear February afternoon in 1915, they awaited the landing of King Retsyo I, the ceremonial monarch and parade marshal for the city's first annual Mardi Gras Carnival. To the crowd's delight, the masked king disembarked from the steamboat *City of Columbus* ensconced in purple regalia. Promoting their emerging seafood and timber industries, Apalachicolans paid homage to the ceremonial king, whose name was oyster spelled backward. Retsyo greeted the crowd, entered his "Chariot of State," and led his entourage through town. The procession passed several blocks of bunting- and palm-draped buildings and halted at the reviewing stand on the corner of Chestnut and Market streets. Awaiting Retsyo were the queen, her ladies in waiting, and Mayor S. E. Teague. Stepping forward, the mayor presented Retsyo the key to the city on a purple satin cushion. The king accepted the token of hospitality and addressed the crowd: "I see your unrivalled water-front lined with dry docks, ship yards and wharves . . . [and] factories for the manufacture of furniture, boxes, crates, and wooden-ware, for which limitless material lies tributary to your city."[1] Though he was hidden behind a mask, the crowd likely recognized Retsyo as local businessman

John H. Cook. "Girdled by a sea of plenty," the royal continued in his promotion of the town, "Neptune, the salty king, spreads before her an empire's ransom in pearly shell."[2]

The festive opening of the Mardi Gras Carnival had been carefully choreographed and scripted by Apalachicola's Chamber of Commerce. Local business leaders planned the three-day event, which actually fell on the weekend before Fat Tuesday, to showcase the area's industry and to highlight possibilities for future growth. Once in motion, however, the carnival exposed deepening fault lines in the town, particularly over the liquor question. In 1915, Apalachicola's Franklin County was one of the last wet holdouts in the state. Every other county in North Florida, with the exception of Escambia (Pensacola) and Duval (Jacksonville), had been dry for a decade.[3] At the Mardi Gras Carnival the issue bubbled to the surface as the local Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the town's saloon keepers vied for the community's favor in competing parade floats. Within weeks of the Mardi Gras showdown, petitioners began gathering signatures for a referendum on the county's liquor question. In a closely contested election two months later, voters mandated to close the saloons and join the prohibition cause.[4]

Franklin County's more slowly developing temperance movement, inconsistent with temperance's course in contiguous counties, reflected its anomalous background. Though usually considered part of the state's plantation belt, the county's economy had long depended on the shipment, not cultivation, of cotton. As Leon County remained predominantly agricultural in the early twentieth century, timber mills and seafood canneries became important industries in Franklin. The county was also characteristically "unsouthern" in its first century. Founded by northern merchants in the 1820s and 1830s, Apalachicola oriented itself as much to the Gulf and Atlantic as to the upriver hinterland of Alabama and Georgia.[5] The town's business elite throughout the nineteenth century – from antebellum cotton merchants to postwar mill owners – hailed from the Northeast. Yet in response to growing racial discord and unsettling change around the turn of the century, white Apalachicolans waxed nostalgic about a plantation past the port had never actually experienced. Propelled by a Lost Cause groundswell, prohibition became a popular reform with whites, who saw it as a means of controlling a growing black population, which jumped from 28 to 48 percent between 1860 and 1910. Even so, Franklin County's local option

campaign took a longer time to develop compared to the rest of Middle Florida and, as a result, had alternate consequences.

During the 1830s and 1840s, when wealthy Virginians and Carolinians established cotton plantations in Leon County, enterprising New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, and Connecticut Yankees built merchant houses in Apalachicola. In fact, the Apalachicola Land Company, the real estate firm that developed the town, maintained its offices on Wall Street in New York. Not only did the New York company attract northern investors and emigrants, the firm designed the town to resemble Manhattan. Evidently patterning their design after warehouses within New York City's South Street shipping district, the company required that buildings constructed along Apalachicola's Water Street (the first street parallel to the river) meet certain architectural standards. Therefore in September 1835, the company offered the "New York Contract" to potential investors. "For a low consideration," buyers could obtain prime riverfront lots, provided they constructed brick warehouses that conformed to a Greek-Revival blueprint. Within four years, forty-three such buildings emerged.[6]

Apalachicola's "unsouthern" background did not foster enlightened racial attitudes.[7] New York merchants such as Thomas Orman, a Syracuse native, profited from the South's cotton staple and eventually owned slaves himself.[8] Indeed, Apalachicola's antebellum economy depended on the backbreaking work of enslaved people upriver. In 1839, the city council established slave patrols to monitor the black population and to enforce a 9 p.m. curfew for enslaved and free blacks.[9] Law also granted patrollers the power to "break open doors, gates, or windows" if they met resistance.[10] Fearing that free blacks would foment rebellion, state law forbade black sailors from disembarking in the port. Ships with black crew members could not anchor closer than five miles from the town.[11] Since the local business relied on shipping and not agriculture, and because laws discouraged settlement of free blacks, the county's African American population remained at less than 30 percent before the Civil War. As was the case throughout antebellum Florida, state law forbade alcohol sales to slaves and free blacks.

Meanwhile, antebellum temperance fervor reached Franklin County slightly behind that of the plantation belt. The Washingtonian sensation hit Apalachicola in 1844, two years after temperance revivals had swept through Leon County, but thereafter, the pattern of reform and

gentrification of public drinking spaces was similar. Local ordinances began to enforce more stringent licensing and, over time, hotels that catered to more affluent travelers began to replace taverns. The once raucous port supported eight taverns in 1849, but by 1860, when the town was actually larger, only two barrooms, located within hotels, sold liquor that could be legally consumed on the premises.[12] The Civil War, Reconstruction, and postbellum industry, however, would usher in a new era in drinking culture.

Sympathetic to southern racial mores and integrated into the slave economy, Apalachicola's northern merchants enjoyed the cotton boom of the 1840s and 1850s. Yet secession and Civil War demanded they choose sides and when Florida seceded from the Union in January 1861, many of Apalachicola's merchant elite departed for the North.[13] Despite the exodus, the majority of Apalachicolans caught secession fever and supported the Confederacy, but later abandoned the town when the U.S. naval blockade effectively strangled cotton shipments during the war.[14] One regiment, the Fourth Florida, guarded Apalachicola until March 1862, when it was dispatched to more a contested theater farther north. Union forces occupied the town less than a month later.[15] Apalachicola's population dwindled to five hundred or six hundred people, one-third of its antebellum total.[16]

Following the war, Apalachicola's prominence as a port returned briefly in 1866 and 1867, but railroads upriver soon diverted most of the cotton traffic and the town languished during Reconstruction. Alternatives to cotton, such as timber, seafood, and naval stores, offered the possibility for economic rebirth, and once again, prominent northerners – a different set from the antebellum entrepreneurs – took the lead in developing Apalachicola's waterfront. By the 1880s, the Cypress Lumber Company and the Coombs Company, the two largest employers in town, had northern-born owners. James N. Coombs, owner of the latter lumber company, was a native of Maine, and fought for his home state's 28th infantry during the Civil War.[17]

The northern influence in Apalachicola before and after the war affected how locals publicly remembered the conflict. Postwar memoirs written by Apalachicolans differed markedly from other Middle Florida publications that romanticized the Old South and bitterly criticized federal conduct and policy.[18] William T. Saunders, minister of Apalachicola's Trinity Episcopal Church, remembered antebellum Apalachicola

fondly, but described the port as "really a New York in miniature."[19] The comparison is especially striking, considering that Saunders witnessed significant destruction as a result of the war. Removing from Apalachicola in 1862, Saunders assumed his ministry at St. Luke's Church in Marianna, Florida, the following year. In a federal raid in 1864, the church burned down in a street battle between Union forces and Confederate home-guardsmen.[20] Fortunately for Saunders, he was in Georgia during the raid, although he returned to find the recently consecrated edifice in ruins.[21] Saunders certainly mourned his ordeal, but his reminiscences hardly glorified southern mores.

Cora Mitchel, the daughter of northern-born parents, also wrote a memoir of her experiences in Civil War–era Apalachicola. Though she praised the town's antebellum culture, she emphasized its northern pedigree. "A number of Northern families who had been drawn there as my father had and families from Virginia and other Southern States," she wrote, "brought together elements of culture and refinement unusual in so small and primitive a town."[22] Thomas Leeds Mitchel, Cora's father, was originally from Groton, Connecticut. He opted to remain in the South during the war because of his considerable business investments in Apalachicola, but his daughter later insisted that "being a Northerner by birth and training, [he] was essentially Northern in his sentiments."[23] Mitchel later described her brother Colby's conscription into the Confederate army and the privations that he endured. According to the memoir, Thomas Mitchel hatched a plan to help Colby go AWOL when the boy appeared desperately ill on a weekend furlough. With the help of an anonymous friend, the two rowed to the blockading vessel – part of the East Gulf Coast Blockading Squadron – and escaped to the North.[24]

In other parts of Middle Florida and the South after the Civil War, southerners erected monuments to glorify the lives of Confederate heroes. Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery, resting place of Stonewall Jackson and other Confederate military heroes, had become a kind of pilgrimage site by the 1870s.[25] In 1897, the Florida chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy began raising funds for a monument at the Olustee battlefield site near Lake City. Three years later, Apalachicolans honored their own Old South champion. Though the exercises resembled Lost Cause remembrances, the event was less cathartic than it was business promotion. George H. Whiteside of the Apalachicola

Ice Company coordinated the memorial that paid tribute to Dr. John Gorrie (1803–1855), an antebellum physician and inventor. Seeking aid for his Apalachicola yellow fever patients in the 1840s, Gorrie invented a rudimentary refrigeration machine that produced artificial ice. He obtained a patent in 1851, but never realized his dream of developing the machine before his death four years later. Through the Southern Ice Exchange in Charleston, South Carolina, Whiteside raised money in the 1890s to erect a white bronze memorial, five feet in height, in front of Trinity Episcopal Church. Inscriptions on the monument's panels listed the dates of Gorrie's life, his famous invention, and a depiction of the physician as "a pioneer who devoted his life to the benefit of mankind."[26]

Speeches at the dedication ceremony built on familiar Lost Cause themes, even if the speakers had to stretch the facts to fit the Lost Cause script. Judge George F. Raney, an Apalachicola native who had just recently retired as chief justice of Florida's Supreme Court, emphasized the antebellum golden age in which Gorrie had lived. Raney also compared the ceremony to the dedication of the Stonewall Jackson monument in Richmond, Virginia. English sympathizers of the Confederacy paid for Jackson's monument, he argued, just as people who had never been to Apalachicola—Charleston's Southern Ice Exchange—funded Gorrie's monument. Raney admitted that "the martial scenes of Chancellorsville in May 1863, and the quiet passing of life here in 1855," differed dramatically, but the men's posthumous honors were analogous. Raney also had to qualify his comparison by admitting George Whiteside's role in the affair.[27] As the owner of the local ice plant and member of the Southern Ice Exchange, Whiteside certainly had economic interests in the monument.

Furthermore, unlike teetotaler Stonewall Jackson, John Gorrie could not be upheld as a model of temperate behavior. Whiteside wrote a brief biography of the physician in 1914 that included a popular local legend about Gorrie as a participant in an intemperate 1850 Bastille Day celebration. According to the story, Monsieur Rosan, the French consul in Apalachicola, lamented that he had no way of chilling champagne to celebrate the holiday. Supplies of frozen lake ice from the Northeast being depleted, the Frenchman feared that the party he had planned would be a disappointment without chilled wine. Gorrie, unbeknownst to everyone, had just finished his ice machine and offered to help. Seiz-

ing the opportunity for a safe bet, Rosan wagered with friends on July 13 that he could produce cold champagne for his party the following day. "Imagine the amazement and delight of the company," Whiteside wrote, "when the Parisian won his wager. The Gorrie ice machine, the first in the world, was thus introduced to the public."[28] While the story was likely apocryphal, it revealed that remembrances of Gorrie in the early twentieth century would not be linked to liquor reform. As Franklin County observed the monument dedication to John Gorrie in 1900, surrounding counties endorsed prohibition and voted to ban the sale of intoxicating liquors, wine, and beer.

Yet for the time being, the movement did not have enough support in Franklin to pass a referendum. The county had held local option elections in 1887 and 1889, but in both instances the drys had been soundly defeated.[29] Prohibition was delayed in Franklin County, but moral reforms were not without precedent. The city council established a Sabbath law in 1871 that forbade "public sports, parties, public exercise, exhibitions or games" in the town on Sundays. Any offenders were liable for a ten dollar penalty. The ordinance also prohibited loading and unloading on the city wharves on the Sabbath. In 1883, the city council extended the blue law to ban shopkeepers from peddling their wares on Sundays.[30] Continuous with antebellum regulations, the city monitored taverns and saloons with licensing regulations at the end of the nineteenth century. While blue laws were consistent with contemporary southern evangelical morality campaigns, Franklin County's religious landscape contrasted with church life in Middle Florida and helped delay liquor reform. A strong Catholic presence, born in the antebellum period with Irish immigration, flourished amid an influx of Italian immigrants. Catholics comprised 24 percent of the county's church membership and, next to the white Baptists, were the second largest denomination. By comparison, less than 1 percent of Leon County's church members belonged to the Roman Church.[31] Apalachicola's diminished evangelical presence likely contributed to the delay of countywide prohibition.

Partly in reaction to straining race relations, however, outright prohibition gained favor in Apalachicola early in the twentieth century. Growing racial unease, combined with a proliferation of saloons, helped popularize the reform over the next fifteen years. Antebellum laws had restricted free black settlement, but Franklin County's African American

population grew markedly after Reconstruction and the black-white ratio closed significantly. Compared to Leon County, which had less than a 25 percent white population (see table 3, chapter 5), Franklin's racial demography was initially far less threatening to whites (see table 6). But by 1910, the black-white ratio had practically evened. Apalachicola's burgeoning seafood industry also invited late nineteenth-century immigration, particularly from Italy and Greece. Yet surprisingly, even given the pull factors to the port, the percentage of Apalachicola's overall foreign-born population decreased in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Several racial disturbances in the 1890s revealed growing tensions in the town. For example, on January 19, 1890, Sheriff E. M. Montgomery sent a frantic telegram to Governor Francis P. Fleming asking for the help of state troops to suppress a growing insurrection. According to the nervous lawman, black mill workers threatened to riot if the local timber mills did not raise wages. The workers had already killed a local man named Frank Horn, Sheriff Montgomery wrote, and he feared that the situation was worsening. The governor initially balked, but after a second plea from Montgomery he dispatched a company from Pensacola's Escambia Rifles to help the sheriff in Apalachicola. Until the troops arrived, Fleming advised Montgomery to form a posse.[32] Racial fears intensified, and the *New York Times* reported that "every white man not on duty slept with arms within reach."[33] When the militia finally arrived on the 22nd, they arrested thirty-five laborers involved in the strike and found little resistance to their authority. Montgomery's report of Frank Horn's death had also been false. Strikers allegedly shot Horn, a black laborer in one of the mills, but the wound had not been fatal.[34] While the unrest had terrified white Apalachicola, Major W. F. Williams wired Fleming and reported that Montgomery's fears were overblown. He wrote that the sheriff had panicked and that a cool-headed lawman could have handled the situation without the expense of mustering state troops.[35]

The incident serves as more a barometer of white fear than of black violence, but several years later, another racial incident rocked the town. In September 1897, black rioters took to the streets after a white man slit a black child's throat over a petty disagreement. A white steamboat engineer had sent the boy on an errand to collect a pair of shoes. When the boy returned, he told the engineer that the shoemaker required payment. For reasons unknown, the white engineer attacked the child, who

Table 6. Franklin County population based on race and nativity

	Native-born white		*Black*		*Foreign-born white*		
Year	*Pop.*	*Pct.*	*Pop.*	*Pct.*	*Pop.*	*Pct.*	*Total population*
1860	1,095	57	529	28	283	14	1,907
1870	629	50	475	38	152	12	1,256
1880	1,053	58	592	33	146	9	1,791
1890	1,787	54	1,358	41	163	5	3,308
1900	2,475	51	2,244	46	173	3	4,892
1910	2,567	49	2,487	48	147	3	5,201

Source: Historical Census Browser of the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html [February 16, 2006].

died within minutes. Learning of the murder, a group of local blacks gathered with the intent to lynch the engineer and avenge the boy's murder. Again fears of a potential riot flared in the town, but the sheriff sent no frantic telegrams to Tallahassee. By 1897, Apalachicolans had activated their own militia, the Franklin County Guards – perhaps an indication that future unrest was expected – and they dispersed the vigilante mob. The fate of the murderous captain is unknown.[36]

While local and state authorities had suppressed racial confrontations in the 1890s, Apalachicola continued to develop and transform. In conjunction with population growth, an increasingly pluralist society, and the postbellum shift to industry, saloons (beyond hotel barrooms) began to flourish. As was the case in Leon County, the number and percentage of black saloon keepers and business owners increased over time (see table 7). Soliciting an attendant vice, sex workers found turn-of-the-century Apalachicola a ready marketplace for trading their companionship. Mollie Thomas was matron of a brothel in town that occasionally ran afoul of the law. On several occasions she was arrested for "common nightwalking," running a house of ill fame, and selling liquor without a license.[37] A surprising twenty-three Apalachicola women, all African American, listed prostitute as their occupation in the 1900 census.[38] Relatedly, Apalachicola physician and druggist English Willis found a niche in providing treatment to the town's sex workers. He advertised his specialization in the treatment of "women and venereal diseases"

Figure 13. African American oyster shuckers were part of Apalachicola's growing working class. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

in the *Apalachicola Times*.[39] Undoubtedly, Apalachicola society changed markedly in the decades following Reconstruction and the town grew ripe for progressive reform.

Besides social change, the menu of psychoactive substances also evolved in the late nineteenth century. Though tobacco had been consumed in Apalachicola since the earliest days of the port, pipe smoking increasingly provided one of the most common forms of stimulation. Decorative pipe bowls, which were numerous and inexpensive, provided the working-class smoker with a means of conspicuous consumption that was far more satisfying than the generic clay pipes of the antebellum period. Cigar smoking also became more proletarian by the late nineteenth century. Tobacco farming and cigar rolling were both postbellum enterprises in Middle Florida; Apalachicola and Tallahassee had cigar factories in the early twentieth century. Caffeinated beverages, such as soda, tea, and coffee, also became less expensive over time. Bottled "soft drinks," such as sarsaparilla and ginger beer, along with soda fountain concoctions available at drugstores, provided allegedly healthy alternatives to alcohol.

Table 7. Franklin County saloon keepers by decade

Saloon keepers	*1860*	*1870*	*1880*	*1900*	*1910*
Black	0	0	1	3	6
White	0	1	1	6	6
Total	0	1	2	9	12
Population	1,904	1,256	1,791	4,890	5,201

Source: Franklin County returns of Federal Censuses of Florida, 1860–1910. The 1890 census returns are not extant.

Figure 14. Nonalcoholic ginger beer bottles recovered from an archaeological excavation of J. E. Grady and Co., an Apalachicola ship chandlery and general store that burned in 1900. The bottle shapes date them to the late nineteenth century. Photograph by Pierson Hill.

Arguably the biggest change in the consumption of psychoactive substances was the introduction of lager beer. Whereas antebellum taverns sold English porter and ale, a top-fermented beer served at room temperature, postbellum barrooms also offered bottles of cold and bottom-fermented lagers. German immigrants of the 1840s and 1850s introduced this beer to the United States, but consumption prior to the Civil War had been mostly limited to the Midwest, where German American breweries were common. Improvements in transportation and artificial refrigeration helped expand the lager market considerably and, by the turn of the twentieth century, the lighter-bodied lagers had replaced the ales as America's favorite style of beer. In terms of all alcoholic beverages, lager beer replaced not only ales, but also hard liquor consumption

Figure 15. Lager beer bottles, ca. late nineteenth-century Apalachicola. Photograph by Pierson Hill.

as well. According to one study, Americans drank 25 percent less liquor in 1890 as compared to 1810, but drank nearly twelve times as much beer.[40]

By the early twentieth century, Apalachicolans had access to an expansive and affordable menu of psychoactive substances. Alcohol, nicotine, and caffeine – by far the most popular choices for altered consciousness – had been available in the antebellum period, but were not offered in multiple and inexpensive forms. Druggists continued to dispense narcotics too – opiates were still a popular remedy for pain relief and were commonly prescribed for menstrual pain. Not surprisingly, when regulations and restrictions tightened on heroin and morphine in the first decades of the twentieth century, women constituted the majority of habitual users who visited treatment centers in the South. Apalachicolans would remember Winifred Kimball as one such *habitué.* Kimball gained local fame as a fiction writer in the 1910s and 1920s, and allegedly relied on sympathetic pharmacists to satisfy her cravings for narcotics. Perhaps not surprisingly, Kimball would also speak out in favor of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment in the 1930s.[41]

In contrast to the situation in Tallahassee, Apalachicola women played a sustained and publicly overt role in the shift to prohibition. As early as 1899, the local WCTU displayed their influence in local politics when the white ribboners opposed the appointment of John J. Gannon to the

county commission. Gannon, President Mattie A. Rush wrote in a petition, "has been for years a dispenser of intoxicants, and is now at the head of a liquor saloon in this city." Rush argued that the country may have just defeated Spain in war, "but the conquests of peace are still before us." She and her fellow petitioners urged the governor only to confirm commissioners "whose principles are for temperance and sobriety."[42] The petition ultimately failed, but the county's slowly gestating local option movement allowed the women many more opportunities to shape local political culture. Though its campaigns were afforded scant coverage in the *Apalachicola Times*, the local WCTU rallied on behalf of unsuccessful local option elections in 1907 and 1913. While the wets would carry the day in both elections, the contests were tight. The drys had been soundly defeated in the referendums of 1887 and 1889, but narrowly escaped prohibition in the first two campaigns of the twentieth century.[43]

Besides the WCTU's activism, white women also pushed their way into public life through other organizations. Apalachicola's Civic Club, an organization similar to Tallahassee's Woman's Club, oversaw park improvements and beautification projects to town squares. In a fundamental way, the Civic Club's work challenged the saloon influence in the town by offering other opportunities for recreation beyond the barroom. The club offered important fundraising and organizational help in the creation of Lafayette Park in 1913, and oversaw the maintenance and beautification of Battery Park and Gorrie Square. Based on its sizable budget and reports to the city commission, the club effectively functioned as a de facto parks and recreation department.

In addition to the cypress mills and oyster canneries that helped create a working-class saloon culture, the Apalachicola Northern Railroad completed its line into the port in 1907. Sanborn maps of Apalachicola revealed only two saloons in the district in 1897 (see figure 16). Twelve years later, the 1909 Sanborn maps (see figure 17) revealed that one saloon had closed, but four others had opened, along with a new pool hall and a liquor warehouse. Temperance advocates fretted the connection between new railroad lines and unsavory saloon life.[44] Railroad officials also noted the problem. Twenty-three miles west of Apalachicola in the newly formed town of Port St. Joe, the St. Joe Bay Company (the land company that developed the town and the parent company of the Apalachicola Northern Railroad) complained of illicit liquor sales

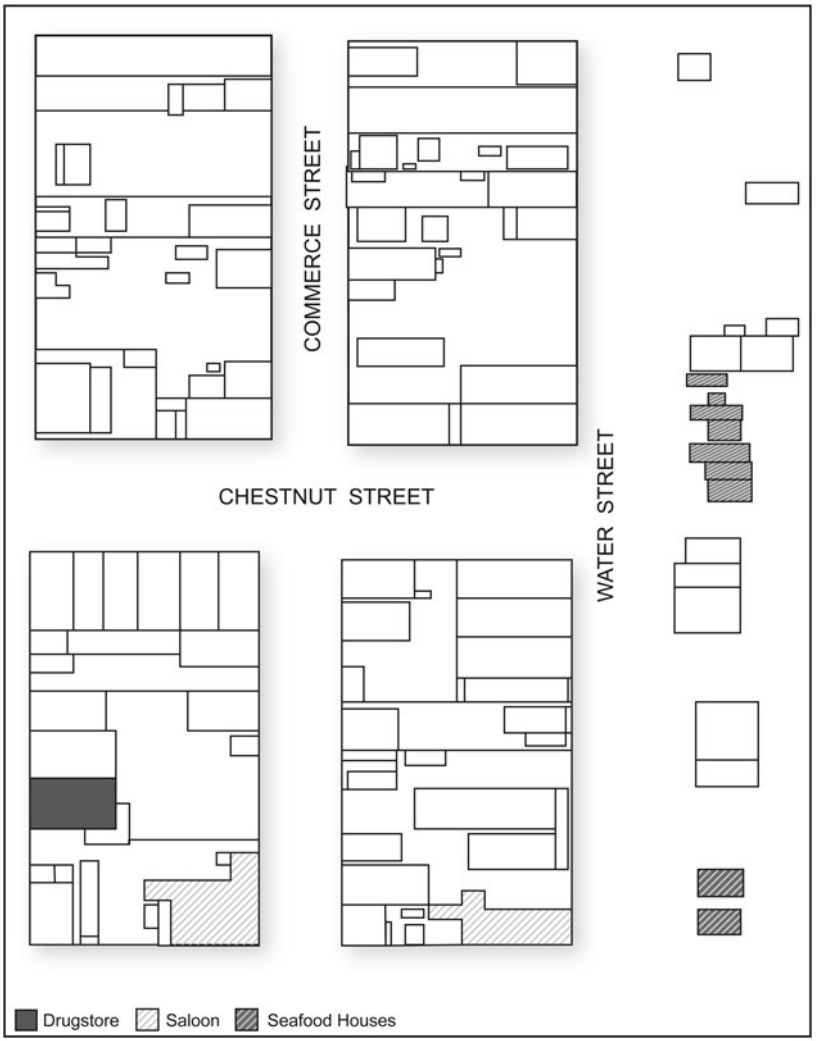

Figure 16. Downtown Apalachicola, 1897. Detail of 1897 Sanborn map of Apalachicola indicates saloons near seafood houses before the opening of the Apalachicola Northern Railroad. Source: Sanborn Map Company, Florida fire insurance maps, Apalachicola, 1897.

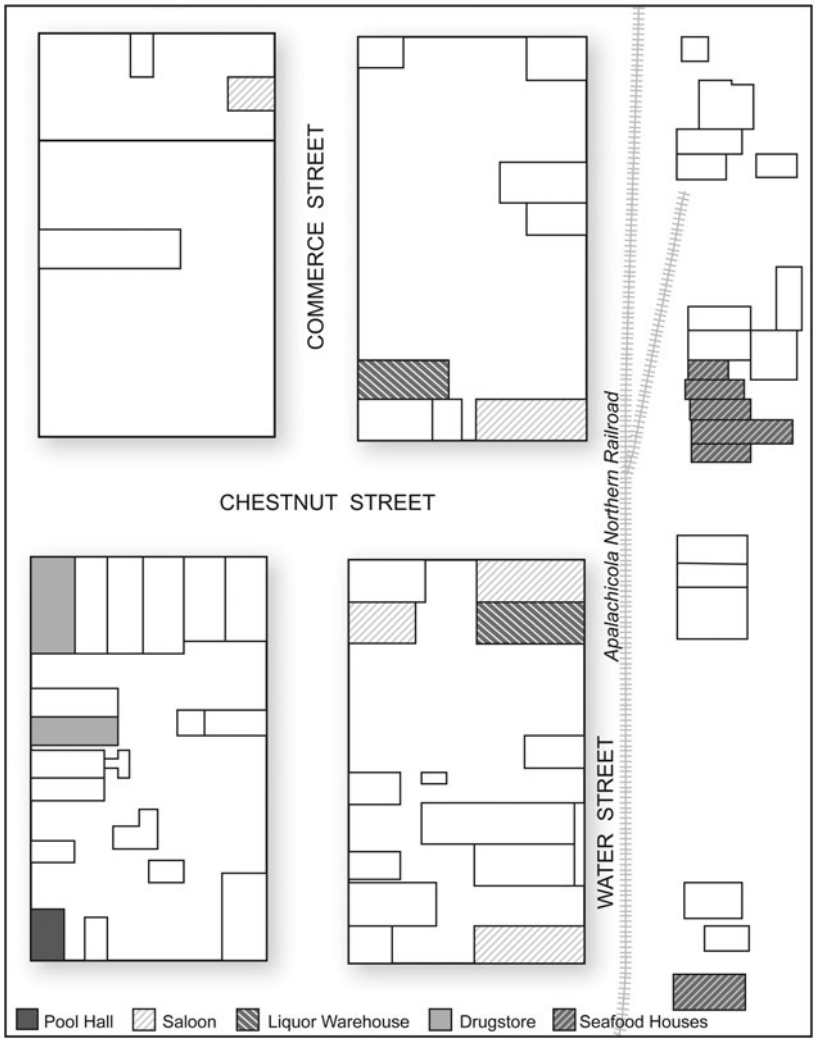

Figure 17. Downtown Apalachicola, 1909. Detail of 1909 Sanborn map of Apalachicola (same blocks as Figure 16) reveals new saloons, a pool hall, and a liquor warehouse that opened after the spur of the Apalachicola Northern Railroad downtown was completed. Source: Sanborn Map Company, Florida fire insurance maps, Apalachicola, 1909.

there. Port St. Joe resided within the dry Calhoun County, but sales continued at blind tigers. When the town incorporated in 1913, company officials feared that some people had supported incorporation as a step toward reversing the dry referendum, legalizing saloons, and ushering in "other undesirable conditions."[45]

The increasing number of saloons and the growing African American population combined to create an unsettling situation for white Apalachicolans. By 1909, saloons and "negro tenements" appeared in close proximity downtown. Even though the Franklin County Guards stood at the ready to suppress any unruly or riotous behavior, the riverfront district began to look increasingly volatile. Though little is known of African American temperance advocates in Apalachicola, white prohibitionists would solicit their help during the local option campaign in 1915. Undoubtedly, there were leaders in the black community who supported the move to prohibition and found the spread of saloons a vexing problem. The town had active African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and black Baptist churches – denominations that supported local option in Leon County – that stood in close proximity to saloons. While the affluent white neighborhood remained entirely residential, saloons and dance halls infiltrated "the Hill," as locals labeled the black neighborhood. Middle-class blacks wanting to keep saloons away from their homes and families found prohibition appealing.

While the spread of saloons catering to mill and cannery workers could be seen as problematic to some whites, saloons and hotel barrooms that served an elite clientele were less threatening. B. F. Hall's Oriental Saloon and Dominick Brown's The Old Exchange were the haunts of more affluent drinkers. Both of the town's hotels at the turn of the century, the Fuller and the Franklin, also had barrooms to serve elite travelers. The Fuller Hotel, owned and operated by a black family, catered exclusively to whites. To compete with the white-owned Franklin Hotel, the Fuller maintained a choice stock of wines and liquors in its barroom. The popularity of these establishments certainly made prohibition a hard sell for some. The saloon keepers also emphasized the healthy benefits of their products, sometimes including recipes for medicinal toddies in their advertisements. Even though the strengthening prohibition movement threatened their businesses, for the time being Apalachicola saloon keepers benefited from being the wet oasis within a dry Florida panhandle. B. F. Hall and F. N. Holley, for example, also ran significant mail order businesses for out-of-town customers.[46]

Figure 18. "The Hill" of Apalachicola, 1909. Detail of blocks 169 and 178 on "the Hill" shows close proximity of saloons, poolrooms, and dance halls to residential dwellings and the AME Church and Knights of Pythias lodge. Source: Sanborn Map Company, Florida fire insurance maps, Apalachicola, 1909.

Figure 19. An African American mutual aid society. Like their white counterparts, the black middle class also desired to weaken saloon culture. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

Figure 20. African American family life in Apalachicola. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

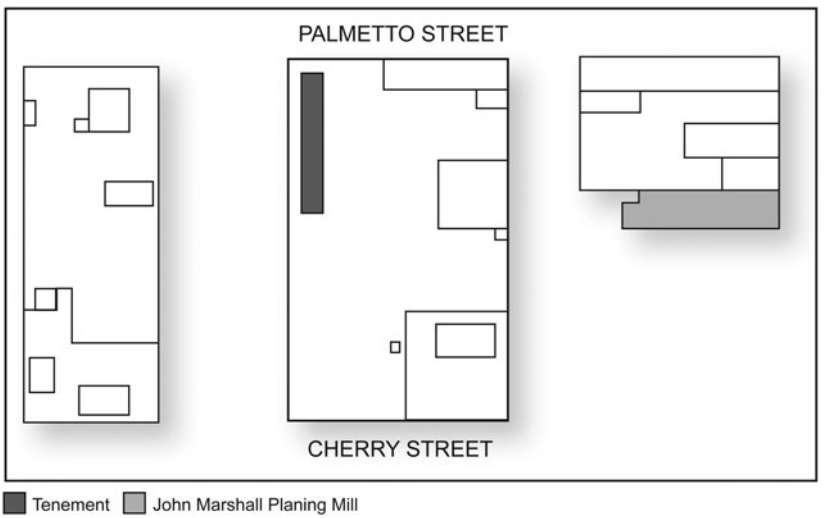

Figure 21. The Apalachicola Bowery, 1897. Source: Sanborn Map Company, Florida fire insurance maps, Apalachicola, 1897.

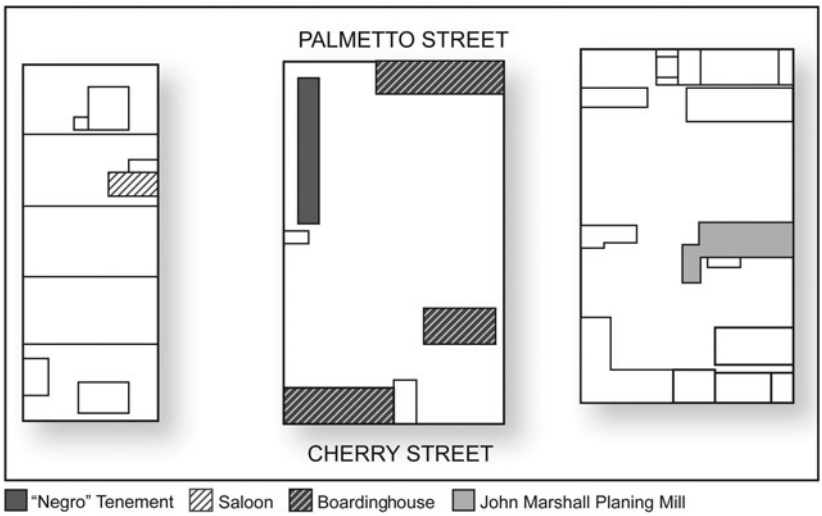

Figure 22. The Apalachicola Bowery, 1909. Working-class boardinghouses, home to some of the town's prostitutes, and a new saloon were new additions in 1909. The tenement also became designated as "negro" between 1897 and 1909. Source: Sanborn Map Company, Florida fire insurance maps, Apalachicola, 1909.

The "respectable" saloons became more and more of a minority over time. In the midst of this transformation, white Apalachicolans began to express more dedication to memories of the southern nation. In 1905, the town's chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) organized. Though the chapter was organized a decade after the state's first UDC convention, the local group claimed thirty-two members by 1912.[47] The Daughters also began annual traditions honoring Confederate memory, holding special events for the birthdays of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis as well as a ceremony each Confederate Memorial Day (April 26). In 1912, the UDC raised enough funds to place marble markers over the ninety-four graves of Confederate and Union dead in local cemeteries.[48] Like UDC chapters throughout the South, the Apalachicola Daughters made Confederate commemoration a central element in white civic culture.

According to historian Charles Reagan Wilson, white southerners embraced temperance as part of their reaction to Confederate defeat in the Civil War. In sermons, fraternal organizations, and monument dedications, white evangelicals created a civil religion of the Lost Cause to

cope with losing the conflict. Deifying fallen heroes such as Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson as models of sobriety, southerners emphasized the region's allegedly superior morality. In fatalistic terms, southern clergy explained that the war was a means by which God had purified the region's culture; they argued this baptism in blood only made southern lifeways more sublime. While the South had lost the temporal military and political fight, victory in the spiritual clash could be won if southerners maintained temperate personal standards. Celebrations of Confederate memory, therefore, were closely linked to blue laws and prohibition.[49] Yet, expressions of Confederate memory in Apalachicola differed from the civil religion that scholars have identified elsewhere in the South. Rather than an attempt to cope with defeat and rebuild a shattered worldview, the Lost Cause espoused in Apalachicola reflected a yearning for an imagined and harmonious past, an era when challenges to white supremacy were nonexistent.[50]

Apalachicola's first annual Mardi Gras celebration in 1915 brought expressions of Confederate nostalgia and prohibition to the forefront of community affairs. The event also demonstrated the importance of women in public life, as the Civic Club and the WCTU played conspicuous roles in planning and participating in the event. Women held meetings at the chamber of commerce and in the city armory making arrangements for the carnival.[51] Women of all ages also marched in the parade. Compared to the martial pomp of Sons of Temperance processions, the Apalachicola's Mardi Gras parade had a decidedly feminine flair. Instead of regalia-clad men on horseback, the procession featured automobiles draped with flowers and, in some cases, driven by women.

The strident behavior of the WCTU also made a statement about women's confidence in public. Eight white ribboners walked alongside their float, a large green and white cornucopia atop a horse-drawn wagon. The women wrote the motto "peace and plenty" in gold letters across the back of the wagon, and, as they walked along, they elicited something the *Apalachicola Times* called the "Florida yell." Vocal about prohibition and as their "peace and plenty" motto suggested, the Great War in Europe, the WCTU made its presence known and heard.[52] Apalachicola's women took advantage of the parade to express a range of political opinions, including pacification. Historian Ted Ownby has argued that prohibition in the New South represented an evangelical backlash against manhood run amok in the New South. Franklin County's masculine saloon life certainly threatened evangelical mores,

Figure 23. Sara Jane Nedley, Elizabeth Porter, and Myrtle Theobald in the Mardi Gras parade, 1915. Their float represented the business of contractor George Marshall. Marshall would also become a leader in the Good Order League that campaigned for local option. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

and women in Apalachicola battled the incursion with park and beautification projects. At the same time, as the WCTU's behavior at the Mardi Gras parade testified, women could adopt masculine tactics as well.[53]

Undoubtedly concerned about the reformers' efforts, B. F. Hall, a liquor distributor and owner of the Oriental Saloon, entered two floats in the parade. The first, according to the *Apalachicola Times*, "represented a grape arbor with blue and green grapes, in the center of which stood an immense bottle of Virginia Dare wine." Hall's wife drove the float, while Mazie Hall, presumably their daughter, stood amid the arbor dressed as the Virginia Dare mascot. The second float, less conspicuous than the first, was designed as a boat. Saloon keeper D. T. Brown drove the second entry with his wife and daughter as passengers.[54] Evidently, Hall and Brown wanted Apalachicolans to realize that their businesses supported their families and all saloons need not be demonized. They too were respectable members of society with wives and children of their own. In the coming weeks, however, an invigorated local option campaign would render their efforts futile.

Other Apalachicolans also displayed an invigorated commitment to the Old South and Confederate memory at the Mardi Gras parade, even though many floats did feature the Stars and Stripes. Old Veterans of the Grey, Franklin County's surviving Confederate soldiers, joined the parade. Even more striking was the float of the J. N. Coombs lumber company. Though Coombs, now deceased, was a Maine native and former Union soldier, the company that continued to bear his name expressed sympathy for Old South mores.[55] The *Apalachicola Times* described the company's entry as a "Log cabin float with orchestra and dancing negroes, representing a scene on the old plantation, and the happy carefree life of the Southern negro."[56] Franklin County never had cotton plantations, but the "carefree negro" archetype must have been appealing in comparison to the town's saloon-going mill workers.

Less than one week after Mardi Gras, local leaders formed the Good Order League of Franklin County. The league was entirely male, but several of the leaders also happened to be the spouses of prominent WCTU and Civic Club women. WCTU President Ethel Wakefield's husband Frank, for example, was a prominent member of the Good Order League. August Mohr, a saw mill superintendent who served as the league president, was married to the president of the Woman's Civic Club, Allie Mohr.[57] Since the women had been laboring at reform for years and the men had entered the movement late, it suggests that club women were the real driving force behind local option in Apalachicola and Franklin County. The goal of the Good Order League, which pledged to meet weekly, was to organize a petition for a referendum and to campaign for a dry county. By early March, the league presented the signatures to the county commission, which called for a special May 1 election. Over the following weeks, the Good Order League and the WCTU worked in tandem to emphasize the need to close saloons based on their deleterious effect on the home and politics. Though the local WCTU had traditionally met in members' homes, it organized a public meeting at the Franklin Hotel several weeks before the referendum. Then less than a week before the election, white ribboner Hattie Clyde Hodges joined Good Order Leaguer C. H. B. Floyd in stumping for the drys on Myerhoff's corner in town.[58]

Meanwhile, B. F. Hall countered with patriotic Budweiser advertisements in the *Apalachicola Times*. The ad series featured founding fathers George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison and

Figure 24. Ethel Wakefield, president of the Apalachicola WCTU, in an undated photograph. Wakefield undoubtedly influenced her husband, Frank B. Wakefield, who served on the Good Order League in 1915. Source: Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

Figure 25. Anti-Saloon League map of Florida, 1916. Franklin County finally in the dry column, now all of Middle Florida had joined the Noble Experiment. The areas shaded black are the state's wet holdouts: Escambia (Pensacola), Duval (Jacksonville), St. Johns (St. Augustine), Hillsborough (Tampa), Monroe (Key West), and Palm Beach (Palm Beach).

emphasized their commitment to religious and commercial liberties. Despite Hall's efforts, which may have been misplaced considering the recent Old South nostalgia, Franklin County voters narrowly chose the dry option on May 1. The fallout from Election Day revealed the racial nature of the liquor question. Wet forces filed a protest after the vote, claiming that pro-saloon black voters had been intimidated at some precincts.[59] The canvassing board dismissed the charges, however, and the results stood.[60]

Though remaining wet for more than a decade after its neighboring Middle Florida counties went dry, Franklin County finally joined the Noble Experiment in 1915 (see figure 25). A combination of factors explained the county's anomalous position on the liquor ques-

tion. Northern nativity and sentiment, a smaller black population, and a strong Catholic presence helped delay prohibition. By the turn of the century, closing racial ratios and increasing conflict between blacks and whites made the dry option more appealing to local white leaders. By and large Protestant ministers and a majority of their members constituted a phalanx of support for prohibition. Related to the demographic shift, white Apalachicolans began to express overtly a commitment to Confederate memory and romanticize an Old South past that the county never had.

With Franklin County now dry, the state had nearly instituted a Maine Law seriatim, county by county. In fact, legislators in Tallahassee considered whether or not to submit a statewide prohibition referendum to voters that very spring. Moreover, in Florida's gubernatorial election the following year, prohibition became a dominant issue. None of the leading candidates dared to oppose the measure, and the eventual winner, Sidney J. Catts, upped the ante by running on the Prohibition Party ticket. Yet the state's embrace of prohibition did not extend to the other progressive reform sweeping the nation: woman suffrage. The two measures had long been closely associated, and the national WCTU had always been a major supporter of women's right to the franchise. Apalachicola being the major exception, women had not played a sustained role in liquor reform in Middle Florida. Given limited female exposure in public life, support for woman suffrage remained muted. Thus, while the state actually went dry in advance of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Florida legislature balked at the Nineteenth.

Conclusion

In the spring of 1915, Florida legislators debated whether or not to pass a Prohibition Submission Bill, which would mandate a statewide dry referendum to voters. Rallying on behalf of the bill, Florida chapters of the Anti-Saloon League (ASL) and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) organized a parade and rally on the east portico of the Florida state capitol. Tellingly, the public demonstrations reiterated a central theme in the state's long temperance movement. Women rode in cars and marched in the procession, but were not afforded speaking roles at the rally. Those honors went to Governor Park Trammell, state ASL president Don McMullen, and the featured speaker of the day, national ASL founder Howard Hyde Russell. Addressing a crowd, which he said would be easier to count by the acres than the thousands, Russell prophetically told his audience that national prohibition was merely a few years away.[1]

The prohibition position, articulated in the pages of the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, also emphasized that the real enemy was the liquor traffic. Playing the role of prohibitionist straw man in 1915 was Jacksonville liquor wholesaler and saloon owner Gus Miller. According to editor Milton Smith, Miller had thrown a lavish party for legislators and bribed

influential solons at the preceding legislative session in 1913. In doing so, Miller successfully weakened a bill that would have crippled Florida saloons. Smith feared that Miller would once again try to treat and bribe legislators in 1915. When the Submission Bill passed the House but was narrowly defeated in the Senate, Smith charged that the "liquor forces" had resorted to bribery once again.[2]

The Submission Bill failed in 1915, but restrictions on opiates and cocaine, or the "habit-forming drugs," continued to tighten. Congress had passed a sweeping narcotics law the previous year, the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act, which had created national regulations and fees for the sale or dispensation of opiates and cocaine.[3] At its 1915 session, the Florida legislature complied with Harrison by creating a state Board of Pharmacy that would license and inspect retailers of opiates and cocaine.[4] Under Harrison, all prescriptions for these drugs had to be for medicinal use only. Since addiction was not considered a disease, people who had become habitual users could not legally obtain a prescription. In the South, doctors had encouraged women to take opiates for menstrual pain and anxiety for years, but now could not legally write prescriptions for patients who had since become *habitués*.[5] Furthermore, the language used to identify retailers of narcotics and cocaine changed between 1903, when Florida first began tightening regulations, and 1915. Retailers, originally known as "druggists," now became "pharmacists." The pharmaceutical profession became one of great respect – and profit – in contrast to the hated and demonized saloon keeper. Furthermore, opiates and cocaine, "habit-forming drugs" of foreign origin, were the problem, not the environment in which they were consumed. This bifurcated classification of alcohol in one category and drugs in another, which became codified in the first two decades of the twentieth century, is still the lens through which we view psychoactive substances today.

The gubernatorial election of 1916 revealed how much political culture in Florida had changed since the tavern-centered campaigns of the territorial period. The two lead candidates in the general election, William V. Knott and Sidney J. Catts, were both prohibitionists to varying degrees. Knott supported local option, and Catts stumped for passing a statewide ban. Knott, a prominent Baptist layman and self-described "dry," was the state comptroller and had solid connections to Florida's Democratic hierarchy. He became the favored contender early in the year. Catts ran as the outsider. An Alabama native who had lived in the

state only since 1911, Catts had been a Baptist preacher and insurance salesman before he decided to run for governor. After a narrow defeat to Knott in the Democratic primary – a result that he and his supporters protested as fraudulent – Catts ran as a Prohibition Party candidate that November.[6]

The 1916 campaign proved to be one of the wildest in the state's history. Lacking funds and needing to establish an identity, Catts turned to anti-Catholicism and agrarian demagoguery as a way to reach apathetic rural voters. The former preacher charmed audiences with humor and self-deprecation, told them of his divine revelation to run for governor, and played up his role as man-of-the-people by assuring rural crowds that he, the "Cracker Messiah," would protect small farmers and fishermen. Strongly endorsed by a Baptist fraternal organization, the rabidly nativist Guardians of Liberty, Catts, with his exhortations about papal conspiracies, resonated with Florida's disaffected populace despite the state's small Catholic population. He accused Knott of being a Catholic sympathizer and the candidate of the saloon vote. One Catts supporter claimed that the comptroller was the nominee of the 4 R's: rum, Romanism, railroads, and red lights. The ruse worked. Catts won the general election.[7]

The momentum for prohibition only intensified with Catts in office. At the 1917 legislative session, a bill calling for a statewide prohibition referendum sailed through Florida's House and Senate. On April 18, the governor signed the bill, the first such passed in his tenure.[8] With an 8,242-vote majority, voters ratified the state constitutional amendment on November 5, 1918. Several weeks later, the legislature ratified federal prohibition, and now by law, but never in practice, Florida became a dry state.[9]

The acceleration of the prohibitionist cause in 1917–1918 belied the movement's humble beginnings. Temperance and prohibition in Middle Florida had evolved for nearly a century. While no single issue explains why Floridians pushed for greater and greater alcohol reform over time, close inspection of local option campaigns reveals that fluctuating racial codes served as one powerful catalyst. Legal trade in alcohol had been limited to whites in antebellum Florida, and the issue remained at the forefront after the Civil War. In Leon and Franklin counties, prohibitionist sentiment grew as whites and blacks competed for public space in the decades after Reconstruction. With a much larger African American population and the threat to local whites more imminent, the issue came

to a head in Leon County first, but Franklin County eventually followed suit. Prohibition did not merely coincide with the post-disfranchisement emergence of Jim Crow; it was part of that retrenchment.

Even so, prohibitionist sentiment thrived in parts of the United States where racial discord was less of an issue. The real and deleterious effects of alcohol were always a significant factor in temperance and prohibition. Furthermore, prominent middle-class blacks supported prohibition too. They viewed the reform as a way to demonstrate their own respectability. Thus to understand prohibition, one must also consider the impact of class distinctions. Planters and yeomen had a rocky relationship in territorial Florida, and, over time, stricter tavern licensing helped stratify public drinking along class lines. Because temperance reform helped maintain racial caste, however, class tensions were muted by the white supremacist bond that racialized prohibition fused between common and elite whites. Class issues also factored into the local option campaigns. Both white and black reformers tended to hail from a striving middle class who wanted to clean up public life for the benefit of their children.

Gender mores also shaped and were shaped by the temperance and prohibition movement. The Washingtonians and Sons of Temperance almost always restricted membership to men. Middle Florida's WCTU remained relatively weak in comparison to their power in East and South Florida and especially compared to elsewhere in the United States. Likewise, the broader woman's movement lagged in Middle Florida. In the same session in which legislators passed a prohibition referendum, Florida solons could not muster necessary support to send a woman suffrage amendment for voters to approve. After Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment in 1918, the legislature still lacked support to even address the issue. Though women were already voting in some municipal elections (although none in Middle Florida), Florida did not officially ratify the woman suffrage amendment until 1969. Because the measure passed in more than three-fourths of the other states, however, Florida women gained the franchise in 1920.[10] Though female marginalization in the prohibition movement does not elucidate the complexities of antisuffragist sentiments in Florida, it may explain the state's relatively weak woman's movement.[11]

Finally, the temperance and prohibition movement reveals the great influence that evangelical mores have had in the development of public

life in Middle Florida. During Florida's first century as part of the United States, 1821–1920, religious beliefs and church leaders helped shape and inform politics and civic development. The transition from U.S. territory to statehood, divisive Civil War, Reconstruction, and accelerating changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries all brought unforeseeable and unsettling adjustments for Floridians. Reformers' attempts to instill an evangelical moral order have had a lasting impact. They helped create a political culture that is in some ways still recognizable in the twenty-first century.

Following the evolution of temperance to prohibition in Middle Florida offers meaningful glances at transformations in southern political culture. Equally important, the reform against alcohol also demonstrates the factors that continued to motivate political and social action from the 1820s to the 1920s. While local case studies can be more heuristic than conclusive, and often raise more questions than they can answer, they point the way for new directions and perspectives in our understanding of historical change. In the case of Middle Florida, women's marginalization in temperance organizations raises important questions that historians need to address. By not giving due consideration to the men's organizations, have women's historians overemphasized the role that women played in the movement? What consequences do varying degrees of male and female participation in reform have on political culture? How does such gender contestation play out elsewhere?

Though the literature on temperance and prohibition is extensive, there is still more to learn about its causes and consequences. The criminalization of narcotics and cocaine, occurring simultaneously with Florida's local option campaigns, needs to be integrated into our understanding of alcohol prohibition. We need to look beyond the alcohol/drugs categorization to see the social history behind these psychoactive substances in the American South. Alcohol survived prohibition, and its consumption today is now more celebrated than condemned. Narcotics and cocaine remain demonized, however, and perhaps not surprisingly, prosecution of drug offenses fills prisons with racial and ethnic minorities.

NOTES

Introduction

1. The best example of this argument is Ian Tyrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800–1860* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979); a more recent example is Joe Coker, *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2007).

2. The work of Joan W. Scott informs my use of gender as an analytical tool. See Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75. For a lucid analysis of race and gender in southern historiography, see Glenda E. Gilmore, "Gender and the Origins of the New South," *Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 4 (2001): 769–88.

3. Samuel S. Hill, *Southern Churches in Crisis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967); John Lee Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972).

4. Important works that have begun to dispel the old captivity thesis include Beth Barton Schweiger, *The Gospel Working Up: Progress and the Pulpit in Nineteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865–1925* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

5. Recent exceptions to this rule include John W. Quist, *Restless Visionaries: The Social Roots of Antebellum Reform in Alabama and Michigan* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); Coker, *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause.*

6. Richard DeGrandpre, *The Cult of Pharmacology: How America Became the World's Most Troubled Drug* Culture (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); Edward M. Brecher and the editors of *Consumer Reports*, *Licit and Illicit Drugs* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972).

7. The best overall work on this conflict remains John K. Mahon, *A History of the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991). See also John Missall and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004).

8. Edward E. Baptist, *Creating a New South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Herbert Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida, 1845–1854* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959); Doherty, *Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961); Doherty, "Political Parties in Territorial Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (October 1950): 131–42. Studies on Florida

religion include Joseph D. Cushman Jr., *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821–1892* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965); Robert M. Temple, *Florida Flame: A History of the Florida Conference of the United Methodist Church* (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1987); Cooper Clifford Kirk, "A History of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Florida, 1821–1891" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1966); E. Earl Joiner, *A History of Florida Baptists* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Convention Press, 1972). The territorial and early statehood temperance movement has not been the focus of any published scholarship to date. Though never published, a solid master's thesis on the subject exists. See Jack Cardwell Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Antebellum Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1967). Like the denominational studies, Lavin's work does not link the reform movement with Florida politics.

9. Andrew Weil, *The Natural Mind: A New Way of Looking at Drugs and the Higher Consciousness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972).

10. David Courtwright, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1–5.

11. Peter Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press), 136.

12. William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeast Borderlands: Panton, Leslie and Company, 1783–1847* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1986), 243–72. Besides the loss of land, the indigenous peoples of Florida and the Americans generally had perished from European pathogens in the form of smallpox and influenza that opened land for U.S. settlement.

13. Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860–1967* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968), 7.

14. For an example of a study of the Old South that demonstrates the complexity of female progress, see Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York: Norton, 1984). See also Elizabeth Varon, *We Mean To Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

15. Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Women and Men on the Southern Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Jean E. Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

16. Heyrman, *Southern Cross*, chapter 4. An important study that also emphasized the decline of women's influence, but focused mostly on the free states was Catherine Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). A more recent work by Scott Martin complicates the ideology of gender and class in temperance literature. See Martin, *The Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle Class Ideology, 1800–1860* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008).

17. John Allen Kraut, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925); Peter Odegard, *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

18. Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Knopf, 1955); Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963); James Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

19. Jack Blocker Jr., *Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States, 1890–1913* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976); Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*.

20. Ross Evans Paulson, *Women's Suffrage and Prohibition: A Comparative Study of Equality and Social Control* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1973); Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Ian Tyrrell, *Women's World, Women's Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

21. Daniel Dorchester, *The Liquor Problem in All Ages* (New York and San Francisco: Philips and Hunt, 1888); Henry A. Scomp, *King Alcohol in the Realm of King Cotton, or, A History of the Liquor Traffic and of the Temperance Movement in Georgia from 1733 to 1887* (Chicago: Press of the Blakely Printing Company, 1888); W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

22. Much of the debate has centered on whether or not taverns fostered democratic access to political discourse. For examples, see David Weir Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Tavern Going and Public Life in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Mark Edward Lender and James Kirby Martin, *Drinking in America: A History* (New York: The Free Press, 1982).

23. Several exceptions to this rule are James Benson Sellers, *The Prohibition Movement in Alabama, 1702–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943); Daniel Jay Whitener, *Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715–1946* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945); C. C. Pearson and J. Edwin Hendricks, *Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia, 1619–1919* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967).

24. For an example of Kraut's influence, see Clement Eaton, *The Freedom-of-Thought Struggle in the Old South* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), chapter 13.

25. Ian Tyrell, "Drink and Temperance in the Antebellum South: An Overview and Interpretation," *Journal of Southern History* 48 (November 1982): 485–510; Rorabaugh, "The Sons of Temperance in Antebellum Jasper County," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 64 (Fall 1980): 263–79.

26. Scholars who have begun to recognize that northern reform was not normative include John Quist, *Restless Visionaries: The Social Roots of Antebellum Reform in Alabama and Michigan* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); Douglas W. Carlson, "'Drinks He to His Own Undoing': Temperance Ideology in the Old South," *Journal of the Early Republic* 18, no. 4 (1998): 107–36.

27. Important works include George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of a New South, 1913–1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 16, 17, 322–23; Dewey W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 175, 178–99.

28. Janette Thomas Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy: The Black and White "Better Classes" of Charlotte, 1850–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

29. William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Richard F. Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture, and the Polity, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Thomas R. Pegram, "Temperance Politics and Regional Political Culture: The Anti-Saloon League in Maryland and the South, 1907–1915," *Journal of Southern History* 63, no. 1 (1997): 57–90.

30. Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown Jr., *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the A.M.E. Church in Florida, 1865–1895* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001); Rivers and Brown, *For a Great and Grand Purpose: The Beginnings of the AMEZ Church in Florida, 1864–1905* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004). The best treatment of African Methodism in the South remains William E. Montgomery, *Under their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African American Church in the South, 1865–1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

Chapter One. "To remain dram drinkers and tipplers"

1. "Essay on Middle Florida (Essai Sur la Florida de Milieu) Comte de Castelnau," trans. Arthur R. Seymour; foreword by Mark F. Boyd, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (January 1948): 237.

2. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1991, 1967).

3. United States Congress, *Seventh Census, 1850, Population*, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, *United States Historical Census Data Browser*, ONLINE, 1998, University of Virginia. Available: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed December 2, 2003]; U.S. Census of Population, 1825 Territorial Census, Leon County; Edward E. Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 286.

4. For example, see Tallahassee *Floridian*, May 22, 1847; Jack Cardwell Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1967), 29; Rebecca Keith, "The Humanitarian Movement in Florida, 1821–1861" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1951), 101.

5. Nancy Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s–1920s* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001). Hewitt's work helps demonstrate how Florida women (in her case Tampans) compared to southern women more generally.

6. Christine Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); John B. Boles, *The Great Revival, 1787–1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1972); Donald Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989).

7. Territory of Florida, *Acts of the Legislative Council 1829* (Tallahassee: n.p., 1829), 133.

8. Territory of Florida, *Acts of the Legislative Council 1832*, 16; Territory of Florida, *Acts of the Legislative Council 1834*, 35.

9. For studies that examine alcohol and political culture in the colonial and early republic periods, see W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Sharon Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Peter Weir Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

10. Pensacola *Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, May 14, 1825; Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida," 31.

11. James Owen Knauss, "The Growth of Florida's Election Laws," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 5 (July 1926): 8; Achille Murat, *America and the Americas* (New York, 1849), 55–57.

12. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Ashmead Bros., 1882), 185.

13. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic*, 152–54; Mark Edward Lender and James Kirby Martin, *Drinking in America: A History* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 54–56.

14. Kirk, "A History of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Florida," 27–28; Norman Edward Booth, "Trinity's First Fifty Years," in *Trinity United Methodist Church: Tallahassee's First Church*, ed. Linda H. Yates (Tallahassee: Trinity United Methodist Church, 1999), 13.

15. Works Progress Administration, "Diary of Rev. Peter Haskew, 1836–1842" (Tallahassee: Statewide Rare Books Project, 1940), 13.

16. "Diary of Rev. Peter Haskew, 1836–1842," 17.

17. Ibid., 33.

18. "Essay on Middle Florida (Essai Sur la Florida de Milieu) Comte de Castelnau," 237.

19. Ibid., 239. Castelnau observed these confrontations as unchecked riotous behavior. Yet the violence he described most likely provided a way to mediate disputes in a land that lacked law enforcement. See Elliott J. Gorn, "Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch: The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (1985): 18–43; and Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

20. Baptist, *Creating an Old South*, 233, 341–42.

21. James M. Denham, *A Rogue's Paradise: Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821–1861* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), x.

22. Kirsten Wood, "'One Woman so Dangerous to Public Morals': Gender and Power in the Eaton Affair," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17, no. 2 (1997): 237–75.

23. Diary of Robert Raymond Reid, February 27, 1835, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University.

24. For example, John Eaton lived in the City Hotel when he served as territorial governor from 1834 to 1836. See Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee*, 128–29, 152. John Milton, Florida's Civil War governor, also lived in the City Hotel while in Tallahassee. See Charles Wood Diary, October 18, 1861, University of Georgia Library, Athens, MS 2734.

25. Call, *Florida Breezes*, 74–75.

26. Niles Schuh, ed., "Apalachicola in 1838–1840: Letters from a Young Cotton Warehouse Clerk," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (January 1990): 330.

27. Schuh, ed., "Apalachicola in 1838–1840," 322.

28. City of Apalachicola, "Ordinances Passed by the Mayor and City Councilmen of the City of Apalachicola, 1839–1871," Patrick Jeremias Lovett Papers, Florida State Archives (hereafter FSA), 8, MM80–4 (hereafter "City Ordinances"), 89; 121; 130.

29. Tallahassee *Floridian,* December 28, 1830; Bertram H. Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee: Florida Heritage Foundation, 1971), 35.

30. Diary of Robert Raymond Reid, September 10, 1833, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University.

31. For example, see Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution;* David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

32. Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida," 43–46. This temperance society was led by Davis Floyd, president; Methodist itinerant Isaac Boring, first vice-president; Dr. Edward Aiken, second vice-president; James Linn, secretary.

33. French émigré Achille Murat, for example, commented that Middle Florida grand juries were made up of "all ranks, all professions and trades jumbled together!" See Murat, *America and the Americans*, 54–55.

34. Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America, 1832–1833*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), 49–52; Bertram H. Groene, *Antebellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee: Florida Heritage Foundation, 1971), 127.

35. John S. Tappan to Benjamin French, December 13, 1841, Tappan Letter, Special Collections, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee.

36. Simon Peter Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life: An Autobiography of Simon Peter Richardson* (Nashville: Barbee & Smith, 1901), 58. Richardson claimed that there were thirty-two grog shops in Key West in 1845, but if this figure was correct most of the establishments were unlicensed. According to 1845 tax rolls, only seven taverns and sixteen liquor retailers had paid their annual licenses. Territory, then state, law defined the difference between a liquor retailer and tavern keeper by the quantity sold and whether or not the alcohol could be consumed on the premises. A tavern sold in quantities less than one quart and the alcohol could be consumed on site. See Office of the Comptroller, Monroe County Tax Rolls, 1845, FSA, Tallahassee, .S 28.

37. United States Congress, *Seventh Census, 1850, Population*, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, *United States Historical Census Data Browser*, ONLINE, 1998, University of Virginia. Available: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed December 2, 2003]; U.S. Census of Population, 1825 Territorial Census, Leon County; Baptist, *Creating an Old South*, 286.

38. For more on female schooling in the Old South, see Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of a Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1994); Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 130–34; Cynthia A. Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Old South, 1700–1835* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 106–10, 140, 147–52, 155–61.

39. Tallahassee *Floridian*, February 9, 1833; *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1839* (Tallahassee: State Printer, 1822–1845), 15; Keith, "The Humanitarian Movement in Ante-bellum Florida, 1821–1861," 100–102.

40. For more on the property rights of women in the antebellum South, see Kierner, *Beyond the Household*, 11–13, 23–25, 102, 105, 125–26, 166; Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg*, 112–45.

41. *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1828* (Pensacola and Tallahassee: State Printer, 1822–1845), 17, 159; *Acts of the Legislative Council, 1835*, 318; *Acts of the Legislative Council, 1845*, 24. Rebecca Keith, "The Humanitarian Movement in Ante-bellum Florida, 1821–1861" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1951), 110–13.

42. "Autobiography of C.A. Hentz," Hentz Family Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscript Department, Louis R. Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 159–60. Port Jackson was located opposite the Apalachicola River from the more important arsenal town of Chattahoochee. It is now part of Sneads, Florida.

43. "Autobiography of C.A. Hentz," 160. Bob Crawford's illustrious uncle, William H. Crawford, represented Georgia as a U.S. senator from 1807 to 1813 and later served as secretary of war and secretary of the treasury in the cabinet of James Madison. He continued as treasury secretary under James Monroe. He unsuccessfully ran for president in 1824. See Chase Mooney, *William H. Crawford, 1772–1834* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974).

44. Office of the Comptroller, "Franklin County Tax Rolls, 1845," FSA, .S 28. Campbell and Hesson held retailer licenses, which indicated that their businesses could sell liquor in quantities greater than one quart and that the liquor could not be consumed on the premises. Thereby they were not necessarily tavern keepers.

45. Tallahassee *Floridian*, May 22, 1847; Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Antebellum Tallahassee," 29.

46. Tallahassee *Floridian*, September 19, 1840; Baptist, *Creating an Old South*, 150.

47. Kirk, "A History of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Florida," 76–77.

48. Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee*, 114–17.

49. United States Congress, *Sixth Census, 1840, Population*, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, *United States Historical Census Data Browser*, ONLINE, 1998, University of Virginia. Available: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed November 14, 2003]; Booth, "Trinity's First Fifty Years," 16. It should be noted that Methodist clergy ministered to a sizable number of enslaved people who were not admitted as members of the church. Still, membership would nearly triple following the revivals of 1842–1843.

50. Carl Stauffer, *God Willing: A History of St. John's Episcopal Church, 1829–1979* (Tallahassee: St. John's Episcopal Church, 1984), 35–71.

51. Michael Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513–1870* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), 161.

52. Baptist, *Creating an Old South*, 112–13; Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, 2–3.

53. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, 2–8.

54. Ibid., 8–12.

55. Ian R. Tyrrell, "Drink and Temperance in the Antebellum South: An Overview and Interpretation," *The Journal of Southern History* 48, no. 4 (November 1982): 509–10.

56. For example, see Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 13, 1941; April 8, 1842; July 8, 1842; August 12, 1842.

57. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 13, 1841; August 12, 1842.

58. Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida," 46.

59. Ibid., 15–18; Tyrell, "Drink and Temperance in the Antebellum South," 490–91.

60. For works that argue the democratic nature of nineteenth-century revivalism, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), and John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven By Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). For a leading work on the eighteenth century that demonstrates the evangelical challenge to patriarchy, see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

61. According to historian Ian Tyrrell, temperance reform found its most receptive audience in areas undergoing the transformation to a market economy, yet the decidedly rural and preindustrial society in Leon County also proved to be fertile ground for temperance reform. See Tyrell, "Drink and Intemperance in the Antebellum South," 509–10.

62. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 22, 1842.

63. For an important early article on the subject, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74. For a recent historiographical assessment of the Cult of True Womanhood, see Mary Kelley, "Beyond the Boundaries," *Journal of the Early Republic* 21 (Spring 2001): 73–78.

64. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 22, 1842.

65. The need to temper violent and abusing husbands is a theme that runs through the temperance and prohibition movements. See Thomas R. Pegram, *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800–1933* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998), 28.

66. Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida," 54; Tallahassee *Floridian*, July 24, 1847.

67. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, May 28, 1842. Even though sex ratios in Middle Florida began to close in the 1840s, men still outnumbered women and romantic opportunities could be limited for single males. Aware of the imbalance,

Knowles informed his male readers that New London, Connecticut, had an abundance of eligible females. He proclaimed, "If these beautiful attractions will risk their precious scalps in this land of Flowers and Tomahawks, we know of a score or two of gentlemen in this place and Quincy, who ought to be furnished forthwith." See Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, May 21, 1842.

68. For the bleak social and economic outlook of single and divorced women in the nineteenth-century South, see Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Sexual and Social Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

69. "Mary Bates to Charles Dana, Jr.," April 11, 1845, Mary Bates Letters, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, MSS 0–16.

70. "Mary Bates to Charles Dana, Jr.," April 11, 1845, Mary Bates Letters, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, MSS 0–16.

71. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 12, 1842.

72. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 13, 1841.

73. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, June 10, 1842.

74. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 15, 1842.

75. Baptist, *Creating an Old South*, 150–52.

76. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, 5–11.

77. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 19, 1842.

78. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, September 2, 1842.

79. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, October 28, 1842; Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, 12.

80. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Territory of Florida, 1843* (Tallahassee: State Printers, 1843), 47.

81. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, October 28, 1842.

82. For a study that demonstrates how Whig Party ideals remained influential long after the organization dissolved, see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

83. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida,* 2–5.

84. Baptist, *Creating an Old South*, 120–90.

85. For examples of women's contribution to the secession movement, see Tracy J. Revels, "Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women in the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (1999): 261–82, and Samuel Proctor, ed., "The Call to Arms: Secession from a Feminine Point of View," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (January 1957): 266–70.

Chapter Two. "We have got no billiard saloon"

1. Only recently have scholars begun to recognize that antebellum reform in the free states was not the normative U.S. experience and that southerners also

vigorously pursued reform. For example, John W. Quist found in his comparison of Washtenaw County, Michigan, and Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, that abolitionism did not inhibit temperance reform in the South. See Quist, *Restless Visionaries: The Social Roots of Antebellum Reform of Alabama and Michigan* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998). An early study of Florida's antebellum temperance movement, however, argued that temperance reform was weakened by its national association with abolitionism. See Jack Cardwell Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1967), 21–22.

2. For the best assessments of the Whigs and their views on temperance, see Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of America's Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), and Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Noonday Press, 1990). The only published study of Florida Whigs does not mention temperance, nor address what an important issue the reform was to the state's party. See Herbert J. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959).

3. Daniel H. Wiggins Diary, May 6, 1842, Wiggins Family Papers, FSA, M89–32.

4. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida* 1854 (Tallahassee: State Printer, 1854), c. 620, sec. 1; Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida," 61. Tallahassee had banned liquor to free blacks in 1840. See Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee*, 110.

5. For examples of this conventional wisdom, see Tallahassee *Floridian*, November 21, 1840; June 1, 1850; Denham, *A Rogue's Paradise*, 14, 106–7.

6. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, January 20, 1843; Keith, "The Humanitarian Movement in Florida, 1821–1861," 55.

7. Ian Tyrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 161–62; Jonathan Zimmerman, "Dethroning King Alcohol: The Washingtonians in Baltimore, 1840–1845," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 87, no. 4 (1992): 374–98.

8. Notices of temperance meetings were common in the port's Whig newspaper throughout the 1840s. For examples, see Apalachicola *Commercial Advertizer*, July 13, 1844; September 2, 1844; October 7, 1844; December 7, 1844, May 2, 1846.

9. "A Religious Revival in Tallahassee in 1843 by the Reverend Dr. Nathan Hoyt," ed. George C. Osborn, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (April 1954): 290.

10. Ian Tyrell found a similar trend in the Washingtonian movement generally. See Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 203–6.

11. Eppes's title was actually "intendant," but he functioned as an executive of the city council. Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee*, 93–104.

12. Hoyt, "A Religious Revival in Tallahassee," 292–93.

13. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Ashmead Bros., 1882).

14. Long, *Florida Breezes*, 142.

15. Joseph D. Cushman Jr., *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821–1891* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), 24.

16. Simon Peter Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1901), 74–75. The sheriff of Gadsden County from 1845 to 1849 was Benjamin C. West. See James M. Denham, *A Rogue's Paradise: Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 220.

17. Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life*, 75.

18. Ibid., 81, 115, 77.

19. Ibid., 128–29.

20. Tallahassee *Star of Florida*, June 1, 1843; Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee*, 63.

21. Denham, *A Rogue's Paradise*, 226–82.

22. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida 1845* (Tallahassee: State Printer, 1845), c. 10, sec. 5: *Acts and Resolutions 1846*, c. 91, sec. 1; Lavin, "The Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Florida," 86–87.

23. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic*, 216–17.

24. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, January 6, 1852.

25. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions 1846* c. 10, sec. 5.

26. Denham, *A Rogue's Paradise*, 265–66, 256.

27. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, December 7, 1852.

28. State of Florida, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida*, 6th Session, 1852 (Tallahassee: State Printer, 1852), 32.

29. Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 225–45.

30. For examples, see the Whig-leaning Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, April 11, 1848, and the Democratic Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, January 27, 1849.

31. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, January 4, 1852; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, January 1, 1852.

32. State of Florida, *Senate Journal*, 7th Sess., 1854, 24–25.

33. According to Herbert Doherty, for example, 6 percent of Whigs and 9 percent of Democrats elected to the General Assembly before the Civil War were born in Florida. See Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, 69.

34. For more discussion on the rival Virginia and South Carolina schools, see Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, 56–57, 66–67.

35. Daniel Walker Howe, "A Massachusetts Yankee in Senator Calhoun's Court: Samuel Gilman in South Carolina," *New England Quarterly* 44 (June 1971): 207. For discussion on the distilled liquor versus teetotal abstinence pledge, see Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), chapter 2.

36. State of Florida, *Senate Journal*, 7th Session, 1854, 55.

37. Madelon Powers, *Faces along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Saloon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

38. State of Florida, *Senate Journal*, 7th Session, 1854, 25.

39. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions 1859*, c. 1,004, sec. 1; *Acts and Resolutions 1858*, c. 994, sec. 1.

40. The Order of the Sons of Temperance, *Journal of the Proceedings of the National Division of the Sons of Temperance 11th Annual Session* (Philadelphia, 1853), Report of Most Worthy Patriarch.

41. The Order of the Sons of Temperance, *Journal of the Proceedings of the National Division of the Sons of Temperance 9th Annual Session* (Philadelphia, 1851), 29, 34 (hereafter *National Proceedings*).

42. Samuel C. Bellamy, "An Address Delivered Before the Chipola Division, no. 6 of the Sons of Temperance, and the citizens of Marianna, on the 4th July, 1849" (Tallahassee: Office of the Floridian and Journal, 1849), 13.

43. Other examples of temperance lectures sponsored by the Sons similarly linked temperance with the cause of liberty. For examples, see Tallahassee *Sentinel*, July 11, 1848; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, July 7, 1849; Jacksonville *News*, July 7, 1849; July 14, 1849; Pensacola *Gazette*, June 29, 1850; Tallahassee *Sentinel*, July 6, 1852.

44. Bellamy, "An Address Delivered before the Chipola Division," 14.

45. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 11, 1848; March 9, 1854; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, August 2, 1851.

46. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 11, 1848.

47. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, August 2, 1851.

48. Sons of Temperance, *National Proceedings, 14th Annual Session* (Philadelphia, 1856).

49. Sons of Temperance, *National Proceedings, 14th Annual Session* (Philadelphia, 1856); Sons of Temperance, *National Proceedings, 15th Annual Session* (Philadelphia, 1857).

50. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, January 5, 1856.

51. Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 295–96.

52. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, December 1, 1849; Clifton Paisley, *The Red Hills of Florida, 1528–1865* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), 109–10.

53. "Essay on Middle Florida (Essai Sur la Florida de Milieu) Comte de Castelnau," trans. Arthur R. Seymour, foreword by Mark F. Boyd, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (January 1948):214; Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America, Vol. II* (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835), 35, 44–53.

54. John S. Tappan to Benjamin French, December 13, 1841, Tappan Letter, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee.

55. Studies of the political culture of Early American tavern life weigh in on the democratic nature of public houses. Sharon Salinger, for example, has argued that taverns upheld social hierarchy in their tendency to cater to different

social classes. See Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002). Peter Thompson likewise found that tavern life in eighteenth-century Philadelphia became less democratic over time. See Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Tavern Going and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

56. O. T. Hammond to Harvey Hubbard, November 1838, O. T. Hammond Papers, Florida Room, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee.

57. Thomas Brown, "An Account of the Lineage of the Brown Family," Ambler-Brown Papers, Special Collections, Duke University Libraries, Durham, North Carolina, vol. II, 61.

58. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, April 18, 1843; Tallahassee *Floridian*, October 31, 1840; Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee*, 29.

59. Accounts of ring and lance tournaments appeared in Tallahassee papers in the 1850s. For examples, see Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, January 3, 1852; January 17, 1852; February 25, 1854; February 17, 1855; January 23, 1858. See also Groene, *Ante-bellum Tallahassee*, 146–48.

60. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, April 20, 1844.

61. Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1962), 145–47.

62. Apalachicola Land Company, *Articles of Agreement and Association of the Apalachicola Land Company, November 28, 1835* (New York: T & C Wood, 1835), 1.

63. Diocese of Florida, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention* (Tallahassee: Office of the Star, 1845), 8.

64. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, April 27, 1844.

65. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, April 6, 1848.

66. Horace Dodd to Emma Guild, December 10, 1859, Special Collections, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Libraries, Gainesville.

67. Franklin County Tax Rolls, 1845–1861, FSA, S 28.

68. Dodd to Emma Guild, March 22, 1860, Special Collections, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Libraries, Gainesville.

69. Dodd to Emma Guild, April 10, 1860, Special Collections, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Libraries, Gainesville.

70. Though translating the value of antebellum currency to today's monetary values is fraught with complications, a $2.50 bottle of champagne is roughly equivalent to $50 in the early twenty-first century. See Samuel H. Williamson, "What is the Relative Value?" Economic History Services, April 2004, http://www.eh.net/hmit/compare/. For the cheap cost of whiskey in antebellum Florida, see "Autobiography of C.A. Hentz," Hentz Family Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscript Department, Louis R. Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 159–60.

71. Planter's Hotel Day Book, C.W. Fisher records, 1858–1862, FSA, Tallahassee, M96–29.

72. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, April 13, 1844.

73. The author wishes to thank Dr. Louis Hill of Tallahassee for generously sharing his collection and archaeological research. Hill has worked with former state archaeologist Ross Morrell in excavating several sites along the riverfront in Apalachicola since 1995. Hill and Morrell have been able to date artifacts by their location in the soil and in their relation to charred striations identified as documented fires.

74. Journal of the Proceedings of the National Division of the Sons of Temperance. Sixteenth Annual Session (Philadelphia: Stereotyped by S. Douglas Wyeth; Printed by Craig A. Young, 1859), 23; Journal of the Proceedings of the National Division of the Sons of Temperance. Seventeenth Annual Session, 25.

75. *Seventh Census* 1850 Population, *Eighth Census* 1860 Population, Historical Census Browser of the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html [accessed February 16, 2006].

76. Ellen Call Long to Richard Call Long, Call and Brevard family papers, Box 5, folder 19, FSA, M92–1.

Chapter Three. "Drinking and gamboling"

1. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880–1901), ser. 1, vol. 49, pt. 2, 944–45 (hereafter *OR*); James P. Jones and William Warren Rogers, "The Surrender of Tallahassee," *Apalachee* 6 (1963–1967): 108. For general works on Florida in the Civil War, see John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963); Robert A. Taylor, *Rebel Storehouse: Florida's Contribution to the Confederacy* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 2003); Canter Brown Jr., "The Civil War," in *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997), 231–48.

2. Thomas R. Pegram, *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800–1933* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998), 46; David Courtwright, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 141.

3. Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1943), 40–41.

4. David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 82.

5. Daniel G. McLean to Maggie McKenzie, October 14, 1861, in *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849–1901*, ed. William Hugh Tucker (Elmira, N.Y.: William Hugh Tucker), 73.

6. *OR*, ser. 4, vol. 1, 834–35.

7. Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat*, vol. I (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), 161.

8. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 2, 323–24. The charge of intoxication was never substantiated by a court-martial.

9. William A. Scott to James McKenzie, April 10, 1862, in *The McKenzie Correspondence*, 76.

10. Simon Peter Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life: The Autobiography of Simon Peter Richardson, D.D., of the North Georgia Conference* (Nashville and Dallas: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1901), 173.

11. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 14, 303, 325, 477.

12. State of Florida, *Proceedings of the Executive Council, 1862*, pp. 20–23, Record Group (hereafter RG) 100 Series 82, FSA.

13. Proceedings of the Executive Council, p. 22, FSA.

14. E. W. Johns to John Milton, October 3, 1862, Office of the Governor, Correspondence of the Governors, 1857–1888, Box 1, Folder 15.

15. *OR*, ser. 4, vol. 1, 834–35.

16. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 6, 287, 301.

17. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 41–43.

18. Steven E. Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 184–98.

19. See Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life*, 174.

20. William A. Scott to James McKenzie, April 10, 1862, in *The McKenzie Correspondence*, 76. The presence of chaplains varied throughout armies on both sides. On the availability of chaplains in Civil War armies, see Woodworth, *And God Is Marching On*, 146–49, 208–9; see also Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 187–91.

21. Drew Gilpin Faust estimates that two hundred million pages of tracts circulated in Confederate armies. See Faust, "Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army," *Journal of Southern History* 53, no. 1 (February 1987): 66. Bell Wiley gives a similar estimate. See Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 177.

22. Florida troops would have had to rely on tract distributors, or colporteurs, from other states to furnish them with tracts. There is no record that any organization produced tracts from the state. For example, the records of Florida's Baptist Conference, a denomination that was most active in printing the literature in other states, offer no evidence of colportage during the war. See Florida Baptist Convention Minutes, 1854–1904, Special Collections, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.

23. For more on the literacy of Confederate soldiers, see Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 161–62, 335–37.

24. Frances Blake Brockenbaugh, *A Mother's Parting Words to Her Soldier Boy* (Richmond: Soldier's Tract Association, M.E. Church, South, 1861); Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 178. Wiley claims that J. B. Jeter wrote this tract, but Brockenbaugh appears to be the original author.

25. Physician, "Liquor and Lincoln by Physician" (Petersburg, Va.?: 1861–1865), Rare Book Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

26. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 180–81.

27. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 213.

28. William B. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1877), 413–14; Woodworth, *And God is Marching On*, 247.

29. Faust, "Christian Soldiers," 80.

30. Judith Lee Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat*, vol. 2 (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 32.

31. Sam R. Watkins, *"Co. Aytch," Maury Grays, First Tennessee Regiment; or, a Sideshow of the Big Show* (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1952), 71.

32. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 187. Bragg's "temperance society" was evidently an expression used to describe restrictions against liquor consumption in the army, not an actual organization.

33. Robert Watson, *Southern Service on Land and Sea: The Civil War Journal of Robert Watson,* CSA/CSN, ed. R. Thomas Campbell (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 65.

34. Faust, "Christian Soldiers," 82; Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 191.

35. "Sam to McKenzie," July 22, 1862, in *The McKenzie Correspondence*, 83. Lee's army sustained 5,355 casualties at Malvern Hill on July 1, 1862.

36. Watkins, *"Co. Aytch,"* 93.

37. Jerrell Shofner, *Jackson County, Florida A History* (Greenwood, Fla.: Penkeville Publishing Company, 1985), 242–45.

38. Henry L. Grady, "A Paper Prepared and Read by Henry L. Grady, Apalachicola," in *The Centennial of Trinity Parish, St. Augustine and the Coming of the Church to Florida, 1821–1891* (St. Augustine: Record Company Printers, 1921), 29–31. The smelting of church bells for cannon was common in the Confederacy. Trinity most likely offered its bell after General P. G. T. Beauregard called on churches to make the donations. See David Williams, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 58.

39. William T. Saunders, *The Pastor's Wife; or Memoirs of E.M.S.* (New York: Little, Rennie, and Co., 1867).

40. George G. Smith, *A History of Methodism in Georgia and Florida, From 1785 to 1865* (Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke and Company, 1877).

41. Gardiner Shattuck, *A Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Life of Civil War Armies* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1987), 106–9

42. Ley, *Fifty-Two Years in Florida*, 84–98.

43. Michael Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513–1870* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965); E. Earl Joiner, *A History of Florida Baptists* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Convention Press, 1972), 48–50. For example, see Florida Baptist Convention Minutes, 1854–1904, Special Collections, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.

44. Ethelred Philips to James Jones Philips, March 27, 1864, James Jones Philips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscript Department, Louis R. Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

45. Ethelred Philips to James Jones Philips, October 14, 1864, James Jones Philips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscript Department, Louis R. Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

46. Ethelred Philips to James Jones Philips, March 27, 1864, James Jones Philips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscript Department, Louis R. Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

47. For example, see Wiley Sword, *Embrace an Angry Wind: The Confederacy's Last Hurrah: Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

48. "Davis Bryant to Octavia Stephens," in *Rose Cottage Chronicles: Civil War Letters of the Bryant-Stephens Families of North Florida*, ed. Arch Fredric Bailey, Ann Smith Lainhart, and Winston Bryant Stephens Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 352.

49. "Willie Bryant to Octavia Stephens," in *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 353.

50. George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Confederate Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 181–201.

51. Michael Gannon, *Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1964), 102-4.

52. Rutledge owned several thousand dollars' worth of Confederate bonds. See last will and testament of Francis Huger Rutledge, Probate Records, 1866, Leon County Courthouse, Tallahassee. The bishop had also donated five hundred dollars to the state of Florida after secession in January 1861.

53. Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke Company, 1926), 204.

54. Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, *The Elements of Confederate Defeat: Nationalism, War Aims, and Religion* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), chapter 12.

55. *OR* ser. 1, vol. 49, pt. 2, 944–45; Jones and Rogers, "The Surrender of Tallahassee," 108.

56. *OR* ser. 1, vol. 49, pt. 2, 862.

57. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 49, pt. 2, 945; Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon, Ga.: The J. W. Burke Company, 1926), 341; Cushman, *A Goodly Heritage: The*

Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821–1892 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), 50–57.

58. Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, 342–43.

59. Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life*, 184.

60. Tracy J. Revels, *Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women during the Civil War* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 34–35.

61. Historians have debated whether Confederate women prolonged the war effort with their support, or contributed to its collapse from their lack thereof. For an important work that argues the former, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South during the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). For the latter, see George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Confederate Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

62. Revels, *Grander in Her Daughters*, 34–35.

63. Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 187–95. See also Faust, "'Without Pilot or Compass': Elite Women and Religion in the Civil War South," in *Religion and the American Civil War*, ed. Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 250–60.

Chapter Four. "In close communion with John Barleycorn"

1. Middle Florida's slave population in 1860 was 34,855 and the total population was 64,855. See *Eighth Census* 1860, Population, Historical Census Browser of the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html [accessed February 16, 2006].

2. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003); Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Random House, 1979).

3. The only single-volume study of Reconstruction in Florida is Jerrell Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863–1877* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974); other valuable studies include Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1965); Canter Brown Jr., *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867–1924* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998); and William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913).

4. Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), 61–94.

5. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 8, 1867.

6. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 12, 1867.

7. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 15, 1867.

8. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 19, 1867.

9. Ibid..

10. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, March 5, 1867. Florida women had more success raising money for memorialization in Richmond, Virginia. Led by former first lady Mary Martha Reid, Floridians raised money for monuments in the Confederate capital's Hollywood Cemetery. See Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 18, 1867.

11. Opposition to women's memorialization efforts was rare. The leading works on the Lost Cause do not mention clerical resistance based on violations of gender codes. See Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980); Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

12. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 4, 1871.

13. While women in Middle Florida faced clerical opposition to reform, they made other strides in the public sphere. In 1870, for example, Mary S. Archer purchased the City Hotel, thereby becoming the proprietress of the capital's hub of political culture. See Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 11, 1871. Archer's role as proprietress will be addressed in chapter 5.

14. Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life*, 181–84.

15. Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown Jr., *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865–1895* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2001).

16. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 51.

17. State of Florida, *The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly of Florida at its 14th Session, 1865* (Tallahassee: Office of the Floridian, 1866), 37.

18. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, 14th Assembly, 2nd Session, 1866*, 10.

19. J. W. Durkee to Brevet Major Allan H. Jackson, September 24, 1868, United States, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Records of the Assistant Commissioner and subordinate field offices for the state of Florida, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, roll 5, volume 2 (hereafter Freedmen's Bureau Records, NA).

20. Emancipation Days also functioned as a form of public history. Blacks celebrated their own American history in these celebrations, which countered white memories of the conflict and the Old South. See David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

Press, 2001), 15–29; 300–337, and Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808–1915* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003).

21. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 158; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 273–75.

22. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, May 21, 1867.

23. Ibid.

24. Some scholars have recently argued that black women had more influence within their community in comparison to white women in the years following the Civil War. For example, see Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), and Lee Ann Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995). Glenda Gilmore makes a similar assertion, but for the early twentieth century; see Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

25. For example, see Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 9, 1867; May 26, 1868; July 7, 1868; May 24, 1870; July 5, 1870; May 23, 1871; May 26, 1874; July 7, 1874; and Tallahassee *Sentinel*, May 21, 1870; July 9, 1870; May 27, 1871; July 11, 1871; May 25, 1872; July 8, 1873.

26. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), 465.

27. C. M. Hamilton to Allan H. Jackson, July 31, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau Records, roll 6, volume 2, NA.

28. W. J. Purman to Lieutenant Allan H. Jackson, January 4, 1868, Freedmen's Bureau Records, roll 6, volume 2, NA.

29. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 226–34; Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 561–86; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 19, 22, 34.

30. J. E. Quentin to Lieutenant A. H. Jackson, November 2, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau Records, roll 6, volume 2, NA.

31. J. E. Quentin to Lieutenant A. H. Jackson, December 2, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau Records, roll 6, volume 2, NA.

32. C. M. Hamilton to Lieutenant Allen H. Jackson, September 30, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau Records, roll 6, volume 2, NA.

33. More than six hundred blacks held public office between 1867 and 1924, but temperance and prohibition was not an issue that gained traction within the group until the 1880s. Temperance did find black support in the more urban and rapidly growing sections of the state, but less so in Middle Florida. See Canter Brown Jr. and Larry Rivers, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord, 1865–1895* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 103–6.

34. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, May 25, 1872.

35. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 132–33.

36. Tallahassee City Council Minutes, May 22, 1872, roll 1, FSA. Gibbs served as secretary of state from 1868 to 1873. See Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*,

92, and Learotha Williams Jr., "'A Wider Field of Usefulness': The Life and Times of Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs, c. 1828–1874," (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2003).

37. T. W. Osborn to J. G. Foster, December 26, 1866, Registers and Letters Received by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, roll 27.

38. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 177–78.

39. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 10–13; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 177–88.

40. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 505; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 178–79.

41. *New York Tribune*, February 8, 1868.

42. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 183–84.

43. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 10–11.

44. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of the State of Florida at its First Session (1868) under the Constitution of 1868* (Tallahassee: Office of the Sentinel, 1868), 99.

45. Florida, *Acts and Resolutions Extra Session, 1869*, 7.

46. Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, 1872*, 36.

47. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 234.

48. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 29–42.

49. Kirk Munroe, "Market-Day in a Southern City," *Harper's Weekly*, May 5, 1883, 278.

50. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*, 21–43.

51. Munroe, "Market-Day in a Southern City," 277.

52. Ibid.

53. Courtwright, *Forces of Habit*, 31–52.

54. Munroe, "A Market-Day in a Southern City," 277.

55. Brown and Rivers, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 136.

56. Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877–1893* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 137–41, 142. Meanwhile, voter intimidation continued throughout the next several decades and African American political influence deteriorated by century's end. Leon County, with an overwhelming black majority, eliminated African Americans from public office by 1891. See Canter Brown Jr., *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867–1924* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 165–67; Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 43–45, 59–60.

57. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions (1868)*, 96–99.

58. Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, Tenth Session, (1879)*, 84; *Acts and Resolutions, Eleventh Session, (1881)*, 83, 87–88.

59. Florida Constitutional Convention, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of Florida, Begun and Held at the Capitol, at Tallahassee, on Tuesday June 9, 1885* (Tallahassee: N. M. Bowen, State Printer, 1885), 610.

60. State of Florida, "Article XIX, Local Option," *Constitution Adopted by the Convention of 1885* (Tallahassee: Floridian Steam Printing House, 1887), 36; Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age*, 141.

61. Brown, *Florida's Black Political Officials*, 43–54; Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 106–7.

Chapter Five. "Kill the beast and save the boys"

1. Fenton Garnett Davis Avant, *My Tallahassee*, ed. David Avant (Tallahassee: L'Avant Studios, 1983), 140. Available minutes of Tallahassee's city council do not mention the name change. In 1911, however, the council referred to the street as Park Avenue, not McCarty Street as it had appeared on earlier maps. See Tallahassee, Fla., City Council Minutes, November 9, 1911, reel 2, FSA, Tallahassee, L 85. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps refer to the street as McCarty in 1903, but on the company's 1909 map of the city, the cartographer wrote both McCarty and Park, but the latter referred to the boulevard's grassy, tree-lined median. Jane Chittenden and her husband Simson, a rail road agent turned local merchant, were, however, affluent citizens living in the city in 1905. See Leon County Federal Census Returns, 1900 and 1910.

2. Ross Evans Paulson, *Women's Suffrage and Prohibition: A Comparative Study of Equality and Social Control* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1973); Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Eleanor Flexner, *A Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

3. Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural History of Leon County, Florida, 1860–1967* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968), 19–39.

4. Anthony M. Platt, *The Child-Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); Ronald D. Cohen, "Child Saving and Progressivism, 1885–1915," in *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook*, ed. Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 273–310. For more on child-saving and southern progressivism, see George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of a New South, 1913–1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 16, 17, 322–23; Dewey W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 175, 178–99; and Jennifer Trost, *Gateway*

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5. For example, see Janette Thomas Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy: The Black and White "Better Classes" of Charlotte, 1850–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); and Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

6. William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Grantham, *Southern Progressivism*, 176–77.

7. Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy*, 88–93; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, xv–xvi, 12, 16–18, 101–2, 133–34.

8. Richard deGrandpre, *The Cult of Pharmacology: How America Became the Most Troubled Drug Culture* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 103–4.

9. Sons of Temperance, *Directory of the Sons of Temperance of North America 1868* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printers, 1868), 20; Florida Division of the Sons of Temperance, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Grand Division Sons of Temperance of the State of Florida, 1885* (Jacksonville: Chas. W. DaCosta Publisher, 1885), cover page.

10. Florida Sons of Temperance, *Annual Proceedings, 1885*, 16–17.

11. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, July 6, 1880.

12. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassean*, November 6, 1903.

13. Ibid.

14. Fifth Census of the State of Florida, 1885, (Leon County), FSA, Tallahassee; Federal Census of Florida, 1900, Volume I, Population, FSA. There are no extant city directories before 1904, but in that year, seven out of the eight city barbers listed in the directory were black. Therefore the three barbershops that appear in the Sanborn map in figure 1 were very likely black run – particularly the barbers next to the black restaurants. See C. S. Clough, *Directory of the City of Tallahassee* (Tallahassee: I. B. Hilson, State Printer, 1904).

15. Jennifer Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle Over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 65 (January 1997): 167–92; Morgan, *Laboring Women: Gender and Reproduction in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

16. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 12, 1889. Neither Chloe Johnson nor Millie Jefferson appears in either the 1885 state census or 1900 federal census. State returns for the 1890 federal census are not extant.

17. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*, chapter 4.

18. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 17, 1889.

19. Totals tabulated from the Fifth Census of the State of Florida, 1885, (Leon County), FSA. There were six black and eight white seamstresses.

20. Tera Hunter explores how black laundresses in Atlanta similarly denied white hegemony by controlling their labors. See Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*, 51–53. Laura Edwards also makes the claim that black women had more influence within their community than working-class white women. See Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

21. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassean*, August 28, 1903.

22. Florida Sons of Temperance, *Annual Proceedings, 1885*, 16.

23. Tallahassee City Council Minutes, April 1, 1891, roll 2, FSA.

24. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 41–42.

25. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassean*, August 7, 1903.

26. Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African-American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808–1915* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003)

27. Tallahassee, *Weekly Tallahassean*, January 8, 1904. Mitch Kachun has found a similar trend in Emancipation Day celebrations throughout the South. See Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*; for more on Florida Emancipation Day celebrations, particularly their function as black public history, see Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, 99–100. In Middle Florida, both dates eventually became annual holidays.

28. The Tallahassee WCTU unsuccessfully pushed for a ban on soda fountain sales on Sundays, which were given exemption to the Sabbatarian law by the city council. See Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassean*, May 8, 1903.

29. Tallahassee City Council Minutes, April 1, 1891, roll 2, FSA.

30. The original members were Miss Anna S. Chaires, Mrs. T. M. Shackleford, Mrs. George Davis, Mrs. Howard Gamble, Mrs. Charles Cay, and Mrs. A. L. Randolph. See Ruth B. Skretting, *Tallahassee Woman's Club, 1903–1984* (Tallahassee: s.n., 1985?).

31. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassean*, May 22, 1903; June 19, 1903; July 3, 1903.

32. Federal Census of Florida, 1900, Leon County, FSA.

33. The state did not have a minimum drinking age in 1903, but in 1901 the state had recently passed a law to "rescue children from immoral surroundings," which may have been the actual charge against Marcus's Barroom. See Florida, *Acts and Resolutions (1901)*, 114–15. The mayor ordered the case against Marcus dropped when an investigation determined that the boy had bought the bottle for his father who worked next door. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassean*, August 14, 1903. Representative J. Emmett Wolfe of Escambia County originally sponsored the child law, and Leon County's delegation in the House and Senate

supported the bill, which also included measures against animal cruelty. See State of Florida, "Journal of the House of Representatives," 1901," 164, 365–66, Florida State Library; State of Florida, "Senate Journal," 1108, Florida State Library.

34. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida after the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Da Costa Printing and Publishing House, 1888), 222, 269, 274, 343.

35. Federal Census of Florida, 1870, FSA. One Tallahassee newspaper listed Mary Archer as the City Hotel's owner as well. See Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 11, 1871. The City Hotel, then known as The Morgan, burned down in 1878.

36. Tallahassee City Council Minutes, November 20, 1877; August 1, 1881; roll 1, FSA.

37. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 15, 1889. The Constantine Hotel, located next to the courthouse on Monroe Street, did not follow the trend as it had a billiard hall, often regarded as potentially rowdy place, within its walls. See Sanborn map of Tallahassee, 1903, p. 2, FSA.

38. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 1, 1889; May 3, 1891.

39. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahasseean*, July 10, 1903. Finch's published speeches were frequently used as prohibition tracts. See John B. Finch, *The People Versus the Liquor Traffic: The Temperance Speeches of John B. Finch* (Chicago: R. W. G. Lodge, I.O.G.T., 1883).

40. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahasseean*, July 3, 1903.

41. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahasseean*, July 24, 1903.

42. Names of the members of the Leon County Local Option League were published in the *Weekly Floridian* on July 3, 1904 (white), and July 15, 1904 (black). Information on their families comes from federal census returns for Leon County, 1900.

43. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahasseean*, July 22, 1904. WCTU members wore white ribbons as symbols of purity.

44. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahasseean*, July 22, 1904.

45. Similarly, Nancy Hewitt has found that women of differing race, class, and ethnic backgrounds struggled to achieve common goals in her study of Tampa. See Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s–1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

46. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahasseean*, July 29, 1904. The cost of an annual license in 1904 was $750, with the money divided between county ($250) and state ($500). If the establishment was located within city limits, the municipality collected an additional $250. Thus a saloon keeper in Tallahassee annually paid $1,000 for a license. See Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, Ninth Session (1903)*, 5–6.

47. Tallahassee *The Weekly Floridian*, September 12, 1891.

48. State of Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, Ninth Regular Session, 1903)*, 97.

49. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 14, 1904.

50. Leon County was the eighth largest of Florida's forty-six counties in 1900. U.S. Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, Volume I, Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901).

51. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 28, 1904.

52. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahasseean*, September 2, 1904.

53. Ibid.

54. *Tampa Tribune*, September 3, 1904, p. 4.

55. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 68–69.

56. Leon County, Board of Commissioners Records of Proceedings, Leon County Court House, Book 2, February 19, 1907; Book 3, November 21, 1911; May 29, 1912.

57. Tallahassee *The Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, May 10, 1912; June 14, 1912.

58. Tallahassee *The Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, June 25, 1912.

59. Robin Jeanne Sellers, *Femina Perfecta: The Origins of Florida State University* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Foundation, 1995).

60. Tallahassee *The Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, June 28, 1905.

61. Tallahassee *The Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, June 18, 1905.

62. Tallahassee *The Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, June 21, 1912.

Chapter Six. "Good order"

1. Apalachicola *Times*, February 13, 1915.

2. Ibid. The queen, Miriam Marks, was also well known to the onlookers. The daughter of a prominent local merchant, she had been elected in a community vote one week earlier.

3. Ernest Hurst Cherrington, *The Anti-Saloon League Yearbook, 1915: An Encyclopedia of Facts and Figures Dealing with the Liquor Traffic and the Temperance Reform* (Westerville, Ohio, 1915), 127–29.

4. Apalachicola *Times*, May 8, 1915.

5. Several excellent studies on Apalachicola exist, but none explore the social and cultural impact of its northern population. See Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1961); William Warren Rogers, *Outposts on the Gulf: St. George Island and Apalachicola from Early Exploration to World War II* (Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, 1987); Lynn Willoughby, *Fair to Middlin': The Antebellum Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).

6. Apalachicola Land Company, *Third Annual Report of the Apalachicola Land Company, Florida, for the Year 1838* (New York, 1838), 21–22.

7. Historians have long understood that the antebellum North was not a bastion of liberal racial attitudes. For example, see Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

1961); Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); David Gilman and David Quigley, eds., *Jim Crow New York: A Documentary History of Race and Citizenship, 1777–1877* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).

8. United States Congress, *Eighth Census*, 1860, Slave Schedules, Franklin County, Florida (Washington, D.C., 1864), 126.

9. City of Apalachicola, "Ordinances Passed by the Mayor and City Councilmen of the City of Apalachicola, 1839–1871," Patrick Jeremias Lovett Papers, FSA, 8, M80–4 (hereafter "Apalachicola City Ordinances").

10. Territory of Florida, *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Passed at Their Ninth Session Commencing January Third and Ending February Thirteenth, 1831 with also the Resolutions of a Public or General Character, Adopted by the Legislative Council at Said Session* (Tallahassee, 1831), 4.

11. State of Florida, *The Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, Passed at its Fourth Session, 1849* (Tallahassee, 1849), 70–71.

12. Franklin County tax rolls, 1845–1861, FSA, S. 28; Federal Census of Florida, 1860. Volume I, Population. Franklin County. FSA.

13. The parish register of Apalachicola's Trinity Episcopal Church, for example, reported that 20 percent of its prewar communicants departed for northern states after 1861. See also *New York Times*, May 5, 1861, p. 1; June 8, 1861, p. 1.

14. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Ser. 1, 17: 120–21 (hereafter *ORN*); Joseph D. Cushman Jr., "The Blockade and Fall of Apalachicola, 1861–62," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (July 1962): 38–46; Rogers, *Outposts on the Gulf*, 50–69.

15. *ORN*, Ser. 1, 17: 194–95.

16. Ibid., 193–94; U.S. *Census*, 1860.

17. Federal Census of Florida, 1900, Population, Franklin County; Rogers, *Outposts on the Gulf*, 138. Coombs's regimental affiliation is engraved on his tombstone in the Chestnut Street Cemetery in Apalachicola.

18. For examples of Middle Florida Confederate apologias, see Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1882), and Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon, Ga., 1926). Though not a memoir, Eppes's book on slavery is also reflective of the Lost Cause mentality. See Eppes, *The Negro of the Old South; A Bit of Period History* (Chicago, 1925).

19. William Treble Saunders, *The Pastor's Wife; or Memoirs of E.M.S.* (New York, 1867), 50. Saunders dedicated the memoir to his late wife, Eliza Morton Saunders, who was a native of New York.

20. *ORN*, Ser. 1, 35: 444–45; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Jackson County, Florida: A History* (Mariana, Fla.: Jackson County Heritage Association, 1985), 242–45.

21. Joseph D. Cushman Jr., *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821–1892* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966), 54–55.

22. Cora Mitchel, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (Providence, R.I., 1916), 4.

23. Ibid., 4.

24. Ibid., 9–14. For more on the role of the East Gulf Coast Blockading Squadron, see Joseph D. Cushman Jr., "The Blockade and Fall of Apalachicola, 1861–1862," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (July 1962): 38–46.

25. Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 18–24.

26. "Gorrie Monument Unveiled," *Ice and Refrigeration* 23 (June 1900): 491.

27. Ibid., 492–94.

28. George H. Whiteside, "Historical Sketch and Tribute," *Ice and Refrigeration* (June 1914): 313–14.

29. Minute Book, Franklin County Board of Commissioners, 1887, 1889, Franklin County Courthouse. Unfortunately little is known about the conduct of these elections. Newspapers for the 1880s and 1890s are not extant.

30. "Apalachicola City Ordinances," 174, 195.

31. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1906* (Washington, D.C., 1910), 302.

32. F. P. Fleming to E. M. Montgomery, January 19, 1890; January 20, 1890; January 21, 1890, State of Florida, Office of the Governor, Territorial and state letterbooks, volume 27, FSA.

33. *New York Times*, January 24, 1890; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 21, 1890. No Apalachicola newspapers from 1858 to 1900 are extant.

34. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 29, 1890. Frank Horn appears in the federal census of Florida for 1880 and 1900 as a "saw mill worker." Why strikers targeted him is not known.

35. Ibid.

36. *New York Times*, September 29, 1897. The 1880s and 1890s were an important period of growth and organization of Florida's state militia. See George Cassel Bittle, "In Defense of Florida: The Organized Florida Militia from 1821 to 1920" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1965), 340.

37. Criminal Docket Books, Franklin County Circuit Court, Franklin County Courthouse, Apalachicola, Florida.

38. Federal Census of Florida, 1900, Series I, Population, Franklin County, FSA.

39. Apalachicola *Times*, June 10, 1905.

40. Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 316.

41. Apalachicola *Times*, May 31, 1930. See also David Courtwright, "The Hidden Epidemic: Opiate Addiction and Cocaine Use in the South, 1860–1920," *Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 1 (February 1983): 57–72.

42. Mrs. J. D. Rush to William D. Bloxham, June 16, 1899, State of Florida, Office of the Governor, Correspondence of Governor William D. Bloxham, 1897–1901.

43. Minute Book, Franklin County Board of Commissioners, Franklin County Courthouse.

44. For example, see Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassean*, August 7, 1903.

45. L. H. Dimmit to W. S. Keyser, May 28, 1913, Records of the Apalachicola Northern Railroad, in possession of the author. The author thanks George Y. Core, former clerk of the court for Gulf County, who photocopied these records before the company destroyed the originals.

46. For example, see Apalachicola *Times*, November 25, 1911; December 23, 1911. The Florida legislature attempted to end the mail order business in 1913. See *Laws of Florida* (1913), 371–75. For more discussion about mail order liquor laws, see Richard Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture and the Polity, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

47. Lancaster, *Early Years of the Florida Division of the UDC*, 1–11.

48. United Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Division, *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Convention* (Tampa, Fla., 1912), 168–69.

49. Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 87–88. For a counterpoint to Wilson's argument, see Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865–1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

50. Edward L. Ayers has found that southerners applied Lost Cause rhetoric for a host of reasons, such as business advertisements. See Ayers, *The Promise of a New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 334–38. The most comprehensive study of the Lost Cause is David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

51. Apalachicola *Times*, January 23, 1915.

52. Apalachicola *Times*, February 13, 1915.

53. Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 209.

54. Apalachicola *Times*, February 13, 1916.

55. Coombs died in 1911. His grave is located in the Chestnut Street Cemetery in Apalachicola.

56. Apalachicola *Times*, February 13, 1915.

57. Federal Census of Florida, 1910, Series 1, Population, Franklin County. FSA.

58. Apalachicola *Times*, April 17, 1915; May 1, 1915.

59. Despite a literacy test and a poll tax as suffrage requirements, blacks continued to vote in local elections after Reconstruction.

60. Apalachicola *Times*, February 20, 1915; March 6, 1915; March 27, 1915; April 17, 1915; April 24, 1915; May 1, 1915; May 8, 1915.

Conclusion

1. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 9, 1915.

2. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 14, 1915.

3. Edward M. Brecher et al., *Licit and Illicit Drugs: The Consumer Union Report on Narcotics, Stimulants, Depressants, Inhalants, Hallucinogens, & Marijuana – Including Caffeine, Nicotine, and Alcohol* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 1972), chapter 8.

4. State of Florida, *Laws of Florida* (1915), 205–13.

5. Unlike for medicinally prescribed liquor, state and federal authorities rigidly enforced this prohibition. See Caroline Jean Acker, "Portrait of an Addicted Family: Dynamics of Opiate Addiction in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Altering American Consciousness*, ed. Sarah W. Tracy and Caroline Jean Acker (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 165–81; Courtwright, "The Hidden Epidemic," 57–72.

6. Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 40–61.

7. Other states had similar experiences with populist demagogues. For thoughtful treatment of these figures, see C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (New York: Macmillan, 1938); Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long* (New York: Knopf, 1969).

8. State of Florida, *General Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida*, 16th Reg. Sess., April 3– June 1, 1917, Vol. I (Tallahassee: T. J. Appleyard, 1917), 324; Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 136–37.

9. Ernest H. Cherrington, *The Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1919* (Westerville, Ohio: The American Issue Press, 1919) 108–9.

10. Kenneth R. Johnson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1966), 182–232. See also Linda D. Vance, *May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1985).

11. For a detailed discussion of woman suffrage and anti-suffragists, see Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 179–83.

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